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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND CONSULTATION IN THE URBAN CONTEXT

A study of the causes, characteristics and consequences of political demand-making in Portsmouth

by

Alan D. Burnett

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1985

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLITICS

Doctor of Philosophy

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND CONSULTATION IN THE URBAN CONTEXT

by Alan Dodds Burnett

This study is primarily concerned with political participation between elections. It examines the causes, characteristics and consequences of citizen demand-making in the City of Portsmouth in the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s. The research concentrates on five major themes - issues, patterns of participation, the roles of councillors and officials, outcomes, and functions. Although theoretically eclectic, it is mainly managerialist and locational approaches which are used.

Initially a range of different modes of participation are analysed including complaints, petitions, deputations, and objections to planning applications. The activities of neighbourhood associations and protest groups are also noted. Secondly, the results of a survey in one locality - Southsea - are reported. Thirdly, the patterns and processes involved in consultation with residents in general improvement areas; with council tenants in the city and in overspill estates; with parents over 6th form school reorganisation; and the public in the formulation of traffic regulation orders, are investigated.

The main conclusions of the study are that the agenda of public participation is dominated by amenity and locational issues, and rarely extended to broader questions of resource allocation; the inner city in Portsmouth is a highly demanding zone; and it is officers who largely direct the process of public consultation. Success or failure of demands from the public largely depend on the willingness of the council to make concessions; and finally, participation performs several functions. The study concludes with a series of proposals which would improve the quantity and quality of public participation in the city.

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PART ONE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In all societies there are channels of access and communication through which citizens attempt to influence the decisions and actions of public authorities. These are mechanisms that link the governors to the governed, the political elite to the populace as a whole. Whether they be institutionalised or informal, direct or indirect they provide an opportunity for political participation even in political systems which are sometimes considered to be closed. Oliver (1969) has, for example, shown that a vast volume of complaints are registered by soviet citizens. There are also cross-national studies which have documented the scope and level of participation in different sorts of countries (Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978). The present study is focussed on non-electoral political transactions which are generally called *political demands*, and is concerned with the causes and effects of localised political involvement in one British city. It ascertains who participates in Portsmouth, over what issues, by what means and to what effect.

There has been a study flow of studies of the urban politics in the United Kingdom in recent years. One major national study of political participation is being conducted at the time of writing (Parry, G., and Moyser, G., 1984). This Manchester University based study is concerned with:

> 'surveying specifically and extensively the actual levels and qualities of current mass participation and popular attitudes towards the various forms of political involvement potentially and actually available'.
>
> (p.71).

Thus not only voting, electoral campaigning and various forms of citizen contacting are being studied but also pressure groups involved in the process of influencing national public policy. The studies of six contrasting localities which are being undertaken are clearly comparable to the present one in that they focus on participation in the local context.

Certain studies have concentrated on the role of interest groups

in decision-making and have sought to identify access and influence on public decisions by such organisations external to local authorities (Darke, R., and Walker, R., 1977; Sharpe, L., 1979, Dearlove, J., 1973; Lowe, P., 1977). Others have provided broader analyses of how policy and resource allocation decisions are made and whose interests are served by the action of local authorities (Dunleavy, 1981; Cockburn, 1978; Saunders, 1979). This study is concerned with the links between local government and the public with special reference to living space issues at neighbourhood level. In systems terminology, it is both a study of environmental inputs (demands) into a local political system *and* political outputs. The processes of aggregation and articulation of political demands, how they are processed and may sometimes be converted into official policies and decisions, are covered. It is distinctive from other political studies conducted in British cities in terms of the diverse modes of political participation and different policy areas included, and the fact that causes and consequences of public participation are examined.

Who participates with whom, over what issues, when, where, how, to whom, and to what effect? These are the basic questions which it seeks to answer. The characteristics of, and causal relationships between, three key concepts will be investigated - *neighbourhood participation*, *political demand-making* and *local outputs*. Clearly, the links between these central variables are analytically complex. In this study, demand-making will be considered as both independent and dependent variables. Thus, an attempt will be made to explain intra-urban variations in demand-making with reference to the socio-economic and environmental characteristics of different neighbourhoods as well as the opportunities and constraints provided by local political structures and the wider political economy. As a corollary, political demands will be considered as one explanatory variable - amongst many - in explaining the allocation of municipal resources.

The study is mainly concerned with political pressure activities which have a 'neighbourhood' i.e. intra-city referent. It focusses on both participation initiated by those in authority and ad hoc, unsystematic attempts on the part of the public to try to influence specific issues of concern. Neighbourhood organisations and localised protest groups are considered as to a lesser extent is individual,

particularised contacting. City-wide pressure groups and branches of national political organisations are all but excluded. The empirical section of the study does *not* examine citizen participation in only one policy area. In this respect it follows the example of Boaden et al (1982). Education, housing, planning and traffic management comprise the services which are scrutinized. Thus the focus of the study is on groups of residents and others and to a lesser extent individual members of the public whose lives take them into a neighbourhood which may be affected by authoritative decisions. They may be residents, property owners, owners/managers of businesses, shoppers, commuters, consumers of services provided (e.g. parks, schools and refuse collection) and those who while rarely physically present in a neighbourhood are concerned for its character.

Although not initially planned as such the investigation has 'ended up' as primarily, though not exclusively, a study of citizen involvement through institutionalised channels. The distinction made by Langton (1978) between consultation initiated 'top down' by a public agency and participation initiated 'bottom-up' by the public is apposite. The availability of reliable and comprehensive data on some officially guided modes of participation was one factor in the choice of case studies.

While the emphasis of the research is firmly placed on political processes and thus within the academic sub-discipline of urban politics, a number of explicitly geographical themes are also pursued. For example, are neighbourhood problems a prerequisite for such localised political activism? What sort of issues arise in different parts of the city and provoke otherwise a-political citizens to active involvement? Notwithstanding the undoubted importance of a-spatial factors in explaining variation of political participation (notably socio-economic status), what precisely is the impact of residential location? Do near neighbours of a locational issue protest more than those living further away? There are also important questions to be answered in relation to how far political demands affect the intra-authority distribution of public allocations in the form of municipal services, expenditure, regulative controls and symbolic outputs such as promises of action.

The study does not start from, nor is restricted to, any *one*

theoretical standpoint. Several paradigms are applicable to a topic such as political participation. Nonetheless as one observer has noted:

> 'while there is nothing intrinsically wrong (with a wide variety of approaches to urban politics) there is a problem in putting them all together'.
>
> (Williams, 1971, p.6)

(i) Key Concepts

(a) Neighbourhood participation

Reference to the monumental work of Verba and Nie (1972) provides a convenient starting point for an analytical discussion of citizen participation. They define political participation as:

> 'instrumental activity through which citizens attempt to influence the government to act in ways which are preferred'.
>
> (p.26)

Four modes of participation are distinguished - voting, campaigning, individual contacting, and communal activity. These are analysed on the basis of four dimensions - type of influence, amount of initiative required, scope of outcome expected, and degree of conflict involved. Their classification of participants is sixfold - totally inactive, totally active, voting specialists, campaigners, parochial activists and, finally, communalists.

Of course citizens indicate their grievances, wishes, needs and preferences by voting for candidates of different parties at elections. As Johnson puts it:

> 'people normally accept being governed both by persons of their choosing..... yet at various times and for sundry reasons some want to govern themselves by intervening in decisions which their representatives make'.
>
> (Johnston, 1984, p.1)

Thus the essence of citizenship between elections involves making demands of those in authority by such activities as forming and joining neighbourhood associations, protesting in groups, raising petitions, threatening and/or taking legal action, attending council meetings, giving evidence at public inquiries, contacting councillors and

officials privately, and writing letters to newspapers.

While participation aimed at authoritative decision-makers - elected and appointed - and is concerned with extracting benefits in the form of favourable policies and decisions, urban residents do have other options open to them. If they are dissatisfied with their home environments or are adversely affected by public plans, proposals or policies, moving house - the 'exit' option - may be seen as an alternative to taking political action (Hirschman, 1970; Orbell and Uno, 1972; Cox and McCarthy, 1980).

There have been several recent studies of political participation notably by Richardson (1979 and 1983). Her book is, however, 'unashamedly abstract and analytical'. She notes that individuals are urged to participate in their capacity as local residents in local planning decisions and as consumers in relation to public services. Participation, which is defined as:

> 'an activity undertaken by one or more individuals previously excluded from the decision-making process in conjunction with one or more individuals who were previously the sole activists in that process'.
>
> (Richardson, 1979, p.229)

is too often advocated without a clear understanding of the nature of the process. Those citizens who do participate are often under the misapprehension that, if they do, a desired outcome will be achieved. In fact, they are not *making* decisions but merely informing and pressurizing those elected representatives and officials who have ultimate responsibility so to do. Participation is, thus, a bargaining process and an unequal one at that. A report by a working party of the Royal Town Planning Institute also stresses the nature of participation as a bargaining process and which they define as:

> 'one permitting a formulation and adjustment of policies which can respond to the views of those affected or interested'.
>
> (R.T.P.I. Report, 1982, p.9)

Richardson, however, goes further than this. She distinguishes between *indirect participation* in which the sides are isolated from each other and there is no direct negotiation. Preferences are

indicated by the public (in for example letters to the editor of a local newspaper) but there is no opportunity for bargaining. *Direct participation* by contrast involves an exchange of views and direct negotiations aimed at gaining concessions from the other side. Thus public meetings, advisory committees, deputations and the like afford an opportunity for the public not only to state their demands but also to argue the merits of their case often face to face with those who have responsibility for the services concerned. In Richardson's view, the interests of consumers - for example tenants - and council decision-makers should not be viewed as either purely congruent or conflicting but rather a combination of the two. They may agree on the need for more resources to be put into housing but not necessarily about the level of rents or the need for specific amenities. For Richardson participation should be seen as both an exchange of information and an exercise in power. It is a mechanism for institutionalising the interaction and bargaining between consumers and council decision-makers in which goods and services are at stake in what is often a zero-sum game i.e. there are likely to be winners and losers.

Johnston views participation in broader terms. He considers it as 'a network of diverse arts' (1984, p.3). He believes that it consists of more than the receipt of information by citizens from authorities about proposed actions with the opportunity to comment on them or indeed sharing power in making final decisions. Instead, it should be visualised as a sequence of influential actions that can begin long before the decision in question is made and extend well beyond it. Johnston suggests (in relation to planning) that there are no less than five types of participation - (1) *Constituent:* relating to setting the conditions and climate for channels for participation (important because agendas are constrained by such contexts); (2) *Consultative:* whereby a local authority communicates facts and options on immediate choices to the public and then seeks responses. (Legally mandatory activities such as public inquiries rarely obligate authorities concerned to incorporate these responses into their eventual decisions). Johnston believes that they may operate to legitimise in the public's eyes whatever decisions emerge, and so avoid controversy in the implementation of plans. (3) *Definitive:* the actual exercise of real power by some duly constituted body of

citizens alone or in conjunction with the authorities. This 'pure' form of participation is rare it is suggested. (4) *Implementive:* being involved in putting decisions into practice (the number and type of involved citizens in each case will vary with the number of people potentially affected by a particular project); (5) *Evaluative:* people who must live with the outcomes of municipal decisions may express their positive (or more likely) negative reactions in various ways. For example, groups may appeal to a higher authority to secure the reversal of an unpopular decision.

Goldsmith (1980) also refers to a planning context but reminds us that participation in a context of representative democracy can be viewed from above - from the point of view of those in authority - or below - a 'street level' perspective. Theories of representative government imply that people are not expected to participate except at elections and on those occasions when a specific individual or collective interest is at stake. In terms of planning, local authorities may allow the public a say in determining the content of policy or merely inform them about decisions. He believes that planners tend to see public participation as something to be tolerated because it is often legally required. Goldsmith suggests that the public may also be seen as if they were a homogeneous mass. In fact, they differ greatly in terms of opportunity, skill and motivation to participate.

> '... people's participation is spatially determined.... It is worth remembering that most people participate in a relatively small local stage - the neighbourhood, parish or community level - rather than on wider, national ones. We send our children to local schools; we pay local taxes; we mainly become involved in issues which have a local, small scale dimension. Even so, much of what happens on that local stage may not be of interest or of relevance to us. Thus people protest at the building of a motorway at the bottom of *their* garden, but not at its being built at the end of somebody else's garden'.
>
> (Goldsmith, 1980a, p.8)

In addition to this highly personal scale of interest in issues the mix of skills and motivation for political involvement differs as between contrasted neighbourhoods. For most members of the public, participation is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Officials and elected representatives control the opportunities for

for participants and it is unlikely that their aims are always identical any more than are those of Whitehall and local authorities. Thus Goldsmith concludes that different sections of the public are likely to have differential access to different parts of the local political system. Suffice to note at this stage that the motives, meaning and merits of political involvement whenever, however and wherever it occurs, has been the subject of varied and conflicting interpretation (Arnstein, 1969; Hill, 1970; Parry, G., 1972).

Political participation for the purpose of this study will be defined as *citizen demand-making which attempts to influence public authoritative allocations*. Neighbourhood participation has been variously defined as 'local groups organised on a geographical basis concerning themselves with ways of improving their areas' (Lamb, 1975, p.128); 'Mechanisms whereby residents pool resources and share costs to solve common problems and secure collective benefits' (O'Brien, 1975, p.75). Rich argues that residents of urban neighbourhoods have -

> 'Many common interests by virtue of their residential location. They often stand to gain a great deal from joint action to promote those shared interests'.
>
> (Rich, 1980, p.560)

Neighbourhood associations are conceptualised by the same author as:

> 'institutions used by persons who identify themselves as members of a neighbourhood to promote interests they share as a result of their residential location'.
>
> (p.562)

Gyford describes such organisations as 'geographically concentrated interest groups' (1977, p.94). The adjective 'neighbourhood' will be defined for the purposes of this study as meaning intra-urban, localised, and spatially concentrated in one part of a city. Most definitions of the neighbourhood include both physical and social dimensions (see Hampton, 1970, pp.119-121 and 301-302 and Boaden, Goldsmith, Hampton and Stringer, 1982, pp.36-37). A recent study by Hallman (1984) presents neighbourhoods as (1) personal arenas where individuals live at least part of their everyday lives, for example, go shopping; (2) physical places which often have boundaries and contain certain land uses and facilities; (3) social units where

individuals work together in groups and take part in some form of collective social life; (4) little economies in which people employ each other and buy houses; and (5) political units in which participants display varying degrees of involvement.

All cities are made up of a number of physical neighbourhoods and the extent to which these are coherent areas in terms of peoples' lives and perceptions in an empirical question in which the case of Portsmouth will be returned to in Chapter IV. In this study then 'neighbourhood' is preferred to 'community' despite the frequent use of the latter term in studies of local politics and protest, when it is often used as a synonym for locality (Plant, 1978). The term 'community of limited liability' defined by Janowitz (1967) is a useful concept to describe the less than all embracing commitment to a place that many residents feel in modern urban society. A detailed discussion of the presumed links between communality and levels of political participation in local politics has been provided by Steinberger (1984). Because neighbourhood is invariably locality based it is preferable and is used in this study.

When using the term neighbourhood political participation, we are referring then not only to formally constituted *neighbourhood associations* but also informal groupings including individuals and neighbours within a given locality. These latter groups will be termed *protest groups*, i.e.:

> 'groups of citizens who under certain conditions.... organise on an informal issue-specific basis to make demands on public officials through pressure processes'.
>
> (Schumaker, 1975, p.490)

These are groups analysed by Steggart (1975) in American cities which emerged in response to more specific threats and which are more than likely to disappear when the issue had been resolved. Neighbourhood participation therefore implies localised collective political action which is concerned with issues affecting householders in or near their place of residence.

(b) Political demand-making

Political demand-making is clearly a complex and multifaceted process. In systems analysis, political demands were originally

visualised as one form of environmental input into political systems. Many elaborations have since been made in attempting to clarify the concept. Cornelius (1974) sees political demands as:

> 'needs whose satisfaction is felt to depend upon government action and which are asserted by individuals or groups as specific claims upon the government',

and defines them as:

> 'collective activities aimed at extracting certain types of benefits from the political system by influencing the decisions of incumbent government officials'.
>
> (p.1125 and 1126)

Here, we are not concerned therefore with *consumer demand* in the sense of potential or actual use of, application for or take up of public services. Rather demands are 'wants of people that have been sufficiently pressing to be articulated and which have found their way to the authorities' (Whitney, 1969, p.12). More open forms of demand-making have been termed 'public influence attempts' by Davidson (1979, p.72). While the existence of '*raw demands*' i.e. those which are not 'sorted, combined and consolidated into general proposals for political action' has been noted (Oliver, 1969, p.967).

There have been a number of laudable attempts to model the demand-making *process*, i.e. the stages through which citizens formulate demands on the basis of perceived needs and wants and subsequently express them (Cornelius, 1974; Nelson, 1980). The major dimensions of urban neighbourhood demand-making are outlined in Figure 1.1. (More detailed causal models are presented in Chapter IV). Some of the concepts included in Figure 1.1 have been derived from models formulated by Eisinger (1972) and Schumaker (1975).

Notable features of this descriptive model which requires elaboration, include *issues* which are the subject of demands, *referents*, *tactics* employed, and *response/outcome*. The sort of *issues* which generate action in different localities and, indeed, the necessity of there being a 'problem' at all, will be discussed below but it is assumed that demands are in some way a response to environmental conditions (often actual or threatened changes) whether caused by public authorities or not. It is relatively simple to classify

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS

Physical Boundedness	Social Networks
Uniformity of land use	Demographic Stability
Housing Tenure	Political Marginality
Socio-Economic Status	Political Composition

ISSUES

Salutary and Noxious Facilities
Quantity/Quality of Divisible Services
Failure of Service Delivery
Location-Specific Expenditure

BEHAVIOURAL PREREQUISITES

Problem perceived as salient and costly to a number of residents
government agency deemed suitable for resolution of problem
exit/resignation options rejected; sense of efficacy of a tangible result
cost/benefit ratio favourable; free-rider position avoided

TACTICS (Singly or in combination)

Private contacts; deputations; petitions; letters to newspapers; public meetings; legal action; marches/demonstrations, riots

REFERENTS

Group of Neighbours
Street/Block
Group of localised consumers
Neighbourhood(s)

FACTORS determining response/outcome/level of attainment

Balance of support/opposition; zero-sumness of issue; extent to which bureaucratic decision rules are questioned; media coverage; controllability of service output; perceived legitimacy of group and demand(s) being made and tactics employed by officials/politicians; size, longevity, cohesion, resources of organisations for staffing and sustained lobbying; openness of municipal agency; financial cost of acceding to demands and financial, legal, political and ecological constraints

LIKELY OUTCOMES

Symbolic Response (agenda/access)
Noxious facilities diverted to low status/low resistance neighbourhoods
Failure of routine service delivery rectified
Contraction of level of provision or closure of facilities prevented

Figure 1.1 Major dimensions of demand-making

the types of issues and their referents, i.e. on whose behalf demands are being made. More problematic is the question as to if and why political action is forthcoming. There are a number of perceptual elements which make demand-making rather than other courses of action likely to occur.

Clearly a range of different *tactics* can be used by groups and individuals in trying to influence events in the political arena. Davidson (1979) classifies tactics as either 'exclamatory' (strident, public and broadbrush) or 'explanatory' (reasoned, detailed and calm). Others have used different criteria to evaluate tactics, including whether or not they are conceived as helpful and legitimate by those in authority (Dearlove, 1974).

There are also theoretical and conceptual problems in tackling the questions of *response* and output and outcome, i.e. how public agencies and their representatives process demands addressed to them, and what if anything they do about them and why. A sympathetic hearing is unlikely to be seen as equivalent to a satisfactory tangible outcome from the point of view of those making demands. (It may be an ideal situation as far as the targeted officials or councillors are concerned). As Oliver states:

> 'not all demands need to be given actual material satisfaction.... mere acceptance of a demand by local officials with sure expression or indication of interest and concern can create support.... even though the regime persists in the policies that created the conditions that gave rise to the demand'.
>
> (1969, p.475)

All or part of what is being demanded may be attained but the chances of it happening are scant, bearing in mind that there are other significant criteria which govern the allocation of resources by local authorities. In relation to service delivery, for example, neighbourhood demands are sporadically generated and difficult to fit into the routine of service provision and municipal bureaucrats have little to fear from:

> 'distributing resources in accordance with technical considerations or professional norms rather than in response to public demands'.
>
> (Antunes and Mladenka, 1976, p.163)

The point to note, however, is that a whole range of responses and outcomes are possible 'as a result' of demands made, and that there are numerous plausible *factors* which may account for whatever level of attainment is ultimately achieved. It may depend on the willingness and capacity of politicians and officials to make concessions, and this turns on such factors as perceptions of relative need on the part of decision-makers, the cost of acceding to demands, and financial or institutional constraints. How ably and persistently spokesmen can make their case and what support and opposition is generated in the process is also likely to be significant. The 'zero-sumness' of demands from the public, i.e. the amount of conflict and incompatibility involved is important in this respect. Clearly, public pressure is only one (and not necessarily the most significant) of a set of factors determining authoritative policy-making and the distribution of resource allocation (Pinch, 1980). There is ample evidence to show that policies pursued by local councils in Britain reflect party control, and a host of other political, economic and environmental variables (Sharpe and Newton, 1984). Low (1977) may be correct in assuming that the relative success of locality-based environmental pressure groups is attributable to disparities in political clout between rich and poor neighbourhoods. Dearlove (1974) is certain that it all depends on how interest groups and their demands are perceived by councillors. It is possible that these explanations are too simplistic and likely that there are several crucial variables which ought to be examined empirically (Burnett and Hill, 1982).

(c) Municipal outputs

By *municipal outputs* we mean policies, plans decisions and actions of local governments and the resources and regulations contained by them. Zisk (1972) refers to policy outputs as:

> 'decisions and non-decisions concerning the allocation of public resources; these may be material (public funds and facilities), symbolic or both; the most important are concerned with public expenditure, land-use and those which affect the structure of policymaking'.
>
> (p.238)

Local outputs may be visualised as bestowing public *attention, effort* and *largesse* between neighbourhoods. In terms of the present study,

it is anticipated that neighbourhood policies, service delivery, the control of land-use and the location of public facilities will be the outputs of city and county councils which generate public consultation and intervention. It should also be borne in mind that public authorities make both beneficial and harmful allocations and that many facilities generate both positive and negative impacts. There is a growing literature on who (or which areas) get what by way of public resources, when and why (Lineberry, 1977; Levy et al, 1974; Jones et al, 1977; Webster et al, 1981, Boyle and Jacobs, 1982; Kirby, Knox and Pinch, 1984).

(ii) Limits to the scope of the study

Since political participation and demand-making is complex and multifaceted, not all aspects of the causes and characteristics of local collective participation can be examined in detail in one study. *Non* participation, except as a corollary of actual political involvement is not a theme pursued here. Individual or particularised contacting which has been the subject of several recent American studies (Jones et al, 1977; Vedlitz et al, 1980; Brown, 1982) is studied but mainly when it is to be found in conjunction with forms of collective participation. Some causal antecedents of demand-making are not pursued here, for example, the socio-psychological motivations of participants are not investigated. The study therefore, like many others, adopts an instrumental position, although recognising that the promotion and defense of the interests of participants is not necessarily the only motivation or justification of political action (Parry and Moyser, 1984). Behavioural concepts such as *political efficacy*, which is considered by Sharpe (1984b) for example to be a crucial intervening variable, are not explored in depth. Likewise, the significance of a perceived discrepancy between a neighbourhood population's perception of what it is entitled to expect from a municipal council and what it actually gets. (According to Muir and Paddison (1981) political demands are likely to be forthcoming when there is a discrepancy between the public's perception of need and entitlement and what a local council actually provides. This particular line of argument is not followed up).

Although it is recognised that political parties play a crucial role in British cities (Peterson and Kantor, 1977), and in Portsmouth,

it is not one which is a central focus in this study. Likewise the dynamics of neighbourhood groups involved in political issues in the city and the impact of decisions made on the amenity and accessibility of individual neighbourhoods and households is not explored.

(iii) Aims and Themes

The study pursues five distinctive themes within its general aim of analysing theoretically and empirically political participation and demand-making in one local authority. The potential difficulty of integrating political patterns and processes in a single study has already been alluded to, but they are dual foci of the study. Thus spatial distributions are shown and the role of locational and environmental variables is examined. That these are important geographical aspects to politics there can be little doubt, but are there specific environmental and locational variables which are significant in explaining observed variations in patterns of participation? Spatial distributions are of interest to all social scientists but some have expressed reservations about the validity of spatial explanations:

> 'There may be aspects of political behaviour that are crucially influenced by their spatial context but discussion presently available does not inspire confidence'
>
> (Elkin, 1974, p.297)

Dunleavy has written in the same vein:

> 'a related problem.... is the extent to which spatial location has ever been or remains an independent variable.... Since all social processes have some spatial component, the inter-relationships among processes may take place via spatial locations.... But this cannot in itself constitute the basis of a separate field of social science enquiry, for an adequate account of spatial effects may necessitate analysing all social processes involved.... it becomes difficult to single out an independent effect from spatial locations. The allocation of space emerges as a derivative consequence of a whole range of social, economic and political factors'.
>
> (1980, pp.38-39)

Some geographers too are sceptical about the efficacy of a spatial perspective and have been critical of what they term 'spatial fetishism' i.e. the belief that space has intrinsic causal powers, and can be abstracted from wider social contexts.

The approach adopted here is based on the assumption that the influence of spatial structure (or indeed class structure) certainly should not be analysed in isolation empirically, but that under certain circumstances (to be identified) the residential mileux is a significant variable in explaining patterns of political activity. If it can be shown that spatial variations in participation exist, then processes relating in some way to different locations may be, in part at least, held responsible. Thus, for example, threats to particular urban neighbourhoods may generate localized political action. On the other hand explanations of the differential outcomes of political participation are likely to be essentially non-spatial.

Kirby (1982) argues that while space should not be resuscitated as a single focus of analysis, nonetheless there are contexts within which a spatial perspective is necessary. In the five inter-related themes which are outlined below it should be borne in mind that the basic aim of the study is to elucidate both processes and patterns *and* causes and effects of participation and demand-making.

The presentation and discussion of hypotheses relating to the five themes - issues, patterns, officers and councillors, outcomes, and functions is contained in Chapter IV. Here the themes are merely introduced.

(a) Issues

Whether the concern is to identify variations in intra-urban spatial patterns in different modes of political involvement or to tease out the causes the question of the issues involved needs clarification. One question which has generated divergent views is whether, and in what way, neighbourhood problems are the basis of localised political action. Some writers are in no doubt:

> 'the neighbourhood must first experience a number of locality-based issues to stir.... at least some of its residents'.

and

> 'Without the identification of a problem there is no stimulus to political activity, no attempted influence, and therefore, no reason for residents to try to attract the attention of their council members'.
>
> (Davidson, 1979, p.24 and 129)

The same author even asserts that some issues force those affected to act. On a more cautious note Munns (1975) finds that contradictory demands arise from a single environmental condition, and Rich (1980) that some sorts of neighbourhoods do not organise despite the presence of problems. Cox and McCarthy (1980) discuss at length whether or not neighbourhood problems are a prerequisite for political action. They conclude that the impact of problems is of 'an emphatically contingent nature' (p.23). Households of high socio-economic status, who own their own homes and include children are more likely to be active politically in the neighbourhoods. It is suggested here that under normal circumstances neighbourhood activism is attributable in some way to environmental change and perceived threats to the physical, social or financial wellbeing of groups of citizens.

What sort or scale of problems would we anticipate being the basis of mobilisation and demand-making? Lowe (1977) suggests that local pressure groups - residents' and tenants' associations, amenity societies, action groups and the like, are preoccupied with issues of amenity and accessibility. Lamb (1975) stresses the significance of public service issues in poor neighbourhoods. Hill (1970) illustrates the sort of issues and protests which are commonplace in British cities:

> 'council tenants march to the town hall to protest about rents, mothers block a road which they consider unsafe for the children to cross, a petition is got up to oppose the building of a special school or hostel'.
>
> (p.85)

There is evidence from the literature on urban locational conflict (disputes over land use and the location of facilities) that issues vary in volume and type from one ecological zone in the city to another (Janelle and Millward, 1976; Janelle, 1977; Ley and Mercer, 1980; Cox and Johnson, 1982). Johnson (1984) emphasizes the less tangible values which may be at stake:

> 'The importance of places to people as the locations where their intentions, attitudes and experiences are concentrated. To propose a change in the physical environment of these spaces is to raise the possibility of enhancing or degrading their attached place-values, which include security, identity, communion, access, prestige and beauty'.
>
> (p.5)

Other authors have emphasised that the object of much neighbourhood action is the exclusion of 'noxious' facilities (Dear, Fincher and Currie, 1977; and O'Hare, 1977). The issues generating demands are often those commonly known as issues of collective consumption. Dunleavy defines these as including:

> 'including educational and health care services, environmental facilities, social welfare services, cultural facilities, highways, public transport, public housing, land-use regulations and urban planning'.
>
> (1980, p.52)

Stephenson (1979) suggests that groups constrain, minimise or otherwise eliminate negative externalities (impacts) and create, maintain or otherwise maximise the benefits of positive externalities. In terms of the scale of issues, it is likely that some at least will be those that potentially affect a few neighbouring households, a road, or several streets. In terms of public services, it is those which are of medium divisibility (not delivered to entire cities or to individuals but to specific neighbourhoods) which become the focus of political activism and the subject of official public consultation on the part of local authorities.

(b) Patterns of participation

A second and clearly related theme of the study is to identify and, if possible, explain intra-urban variation in the extent and level of participation. It is anticipated that not only will variations exist as between different issues but also for different modes of participation.

Dowse and Hughes (1971) have observed that causes are espoused which affect people in spatial or social proximity. Clary and Goodman (1976) have shown that where you live (as well as who you are) makes a difference as to whether you are politically active or not over locational issues. Several authors have indicated that certain sorts of neighbourhoods are likely to generate specific forms of organisational mobilisation. It is postulated that neighbourhood organisations and protest groups are more common in areas of cities which are physically bounded; socially homogeneous and integrated; and are being subjected to environmental changes (Hall, 1977; Crenson, 1983; Davidson, 1979). As far as explaining differential outcomes in different settings

Rich (1980) suggests that poor neighbourhoods have service needs that are so extensive as to be too costly to satisfy. Any explanation of inter- and intra-neighbourhood variations in political participation and demand-making (and public responses to it) is likely to involve an analysis of background characteristics of areas and individuals as well as the influence of institutional constraints and opportunities and the attitudes of those in authority.

(c) Councillors and officers

A third major preoccupation of this study is the role of elected representatives vis-a-vis professional officers in relation to public involvement in municipal decision-making. As will be seen in Chapters VII to X on public participation in planning, housing, education and transport much of what local authorities do by way of consultation is legislated by central government. The framework and in some instances the detailed procedures by which the public are involved have been incorporated in legislation and circulars emanating from Westminster and Whitehall during the post-war decades. Nonetheless individual local authorities still have considerable discretion as to who is given the opportunity to participate, how, and when. Given that such discretion exists - and how it is used in Portsmouth will be closely observed - there remains the question as to who it is within each authority and constituent department that devises and implements the form that local arrangements take. How far do senior councillors of the controlling party set the tone in establishing the parameters for public consultation? Do experienced officers in major spending departments or those whose activities interface with ratepayers and consumers decide or at least recommend what procedures are adopted? It will be shown that the Portsmouth City Council has over the years developed a distinctive set of institutions and procedures to involve the public. They have until very recently permitted and even encouraged deputations to attend and plead their case before meetings of the full Council as well as several of its committees. On the other hand, unlike some authorities they have declined to allow co-opted tenant representatives to sit on the Housing Committee or its sub-committees. These arrangements however are far from static and several changes have been instigated during the 1970s and thus far in the 1980s.

A related topic is the extent to which officers and councillors

are involved in the *operation* of participatory schemes. It has been suggested for example that:

> 'planners have traditionally been more involved than councillors in participation in planning whereas councillors have often taken a greater interest than officers in tenant participation schemes'.
>
> (Richardson, 1983, p.46)

The extent of involvement by officers may also depend on seniority, with chief officers and their deputies eschewing such activities because of other more pressing commitments and relegating them in their own minds to a position of less importance, and thus to be delegated to their juniors.

Another empirical issue concerns the question of who are the targets for complaints and demands from the public. Pahl has suggested that major issues will end up on the desk of senior officials whereas more routine, mundane requests will be decided at and dealt with by middle ranking or junior municipal employees. Pahl (1979) puts it as follows:

> 'Some decisions float at the top but many more sink. Those who deal with the sinking decisions are the managers, and those working for managers face to face with recipients are the gatekeepers. These latter also have discretion in the application of rules or in the time they take to implement them. Hence, seen from the position of the applicant, client, or recipient of urban services and facilities the gatekeeper is the source of power. Yet more strenuously organised protest against local-level controllers, allocators and gatekeepers leads them to retreat for support to a further level where power 'really' lies. This tendency for decisions to be pushed or to float to different levels in organisations under various types of pressure provides one of the biggest challenges to empirical research'.
>
> (p.39)

Newton (1976) found that contact with departments and officials was thought to be the first effective choice of interest group leaders while contact with individual councillors came a poor second. Gyford (1976) has also noted that groups wishing to affect policy or its implementation will seek out appropriate officers and only when that does not pay off will councillors become a target for lobbying.

Even more important in terms of understanding the process whereby

demands are evaluated and dealt with by those in authority is to identify the locus of power between elected members and bureaucrats. Conflicts and tensions do, of course, occur in how they interact in relating to pressure concerning overall priorities and individual issues. In the case of the latter there exists in every agency a well established set of decision rules to guide officials in advice they give to relevant committees (local plans and planning principles in relation to planning applications, and points allocation systems in relation to council housing applications, Burnett, 1985). Complaints and demands from the public are commonly also considered in a regularised manner. In contrast elected representatives with their party affiliations and ward allegiancies often respond to demands more intuitively. Conceivably the costs and benefits of acceding to demands are calculated by both sets of political actors in terms of their own interests and those of their organisations as well as in the light of perceived constraints.

In the last resort, however, power is crucial in analysing the impact of participation in practice. Councillors may have formal authority but in the complexities of housing and educational provision as well as land use and traffic regulation, the informed expertise of the professional officers may be crucial. It is possible that in the case of 'major' issues which involve conflict and are politicised councillors will assert their authority, whereas more routine and less controversial cases will be decided purely on the technical advice of officials. At any rate it is unlikely that councillors or officials will defer to the wishes of citizen participants unless their legitimacy and competence is demonstrated and they do not threaten established policies and priorities.

(d) Outcomes

The fourth theme to be explored is what happens to demands. It is anticipated that the public will rarely be given any formal powers of decision-making and they generally face an uphill struggle to get their demands heard let alone heeded. And yet apparently under certain circumstances their demands are wholly or at least partially met with councillors and officials changing their minds and acceding to public pressure. Participation may have an immediate impact on the targeted decision or it may fail in the short run. But such acts, as Johnston

notes:

> 'are not islands, entire of themselves and an apparent failure can prove to be significant in a long stream of related acts'.
>
> (1984, p.3)

As Richardson states:

> 'the consequences of participation are highly unpredictable. One cannot assume particular results on the basis of either the intentions of the participants or the specific structures through which they are involved. Furthermore because of the complex nature of the interests mobilized by participation one cannot even say whose interests are best served'.
>
> (1983, p.72)

It may be possible to state what the outcomes in a particular issue are but difficult to prove causal relationships in attempting to define and explain them. The problem therefore is to link demands causally to outcomes. It is clear that eventual decisions may be what participants wanted but they may have been taken in exactly the same way without any demands from the public having been made at all. On the other hand while some decisions may have appeared to go against what the participants pressed for the authorities may have changed their outlook in the course of dealing with the issue and this may be reflected in subsequent decisions. Schumaker and Getter summarize the problem succinctly:

> 'A causal view of power asserts that influence has been exerted when policy-makers modify their decisions because of the real or potential application of resources by participants. A non-causal view is less concerned about the reasons motivating policy-makers than it is concerned about whether or not their decisions are simply consistent with the preferences of participants. For example, a city council may wish to build an expressway through a particular ethnic neighbourhood opposing the project. If the council changes its policies because of neighbourhood protests, influence has been exerted. If the council changes it policies because of cost considerations, and ignores completely neighbourhood protests the neighbourhood of course would have no influence, but the council would nevertheless have been responsive to its preferences .... persons need not be the causal agent bringing about the policies they need only achieve policies consistent with their preferences'.
>
> (1983, p.11)

Whatever the conceptual and empirical difficulties of interpreting the consequences of demand-making an attempt will be made to identify varying degrees of responsiveness on the part of the authorities and distinguish different kinds of outcomes. In addition, demand-making using different channels will be analysed to see if direct participation - where there is personal interaction with official spokesmen - is more or less effective. There is also the question as to whether, and in what ways, policy makers pay more attention to the demands of those whose views they have actively sought out (for example, through an advisory committee, in response to an official questionnaire, via a statutory consultation procedure, or by means of an officially constituted residents' committee). Conversely they may be more sympathetic to the what is seen to be a spontaneous demand of an ad hoc group of residents whose interests are threatened by an official proposal.

It is amply documented that there is no one factor which fully explains why some demands fail while others succeed. Hill (1970) for example argues that although there is no one fixed formula, the basis of any real achievements is 'informed enthusiam' - while continuous and informed action will tend to be productive; undirected protest may come too late to change policy, does not offer reasoned alternatives, and gives no thought to the overall effect of the demands being made. Furthermore:

> 'A council may also ignore outside demands if it can claim that the groups has not shown that it has wide support, or alternatively, has not successfully demonstrated a gap in official provision'.
>
> (p.88)

Undoubtedly who is demanding what, and how, is important but so is the cost of acceding to the demand. The ability and willingness of officials to make concessions is likely to constitute certainly a key variable just as the resources and ability of demanders to argue the merits of their case and to worry elected representatives sufficiently about the consequences of taking other action than that desired. Johnson (1984, p.1) claims that:

> 'a survey of the literature from both nations indicates that participatory programs have a mixed record of accomplishments, according to the local political culture and structures, the attitudes of public officials and political leaders, and the aims and skills of the participants'.

There are few if any studies which have found the answer to the knotty problem of who gains by participation but if a careful attempt is made to model the process and specific decisions can be studied there is no reason why insights cannot be gained into the question of identifying and explaining outcomes.

(e) Functions

A final theme which is pursued in this study is an exploration of the functions that participation, consultation and demand-making serve. As already noted the idea that there is only one purpose served is naive. Although the approach adopted here is structured in terms of causes, characteristics and consequences, i.e. from what might be seen as a participant 's viewpoint, it should not be forgotten that participation is a two-way street. Certainly citizens make demands to which policymakers react but policymakers initiate consultation programmes for their own reasons. It seems wise to interpret and analyze the functions that political participation serves from a variety of theoretical levels and perspectives. Certainly the motives for participation are varied. In the first place there are personal benefits which may be derived from political involvement including fulfilment, enjoyment, and an opportunity to learn about issues and policymaking. More tangibly it is commonly accepted that members of the public being affected by local government decisions should have some say in the matter.

While participation rarely means citizens actually taking authoritative decisions it does imply as Johnston's typology suggests at the very least being involved in one or more stages in the process of policymaking and implementation (Johnston, 1984). Thus the public may be encouraged or permitted to (1) raise issues and problems so that they are placed on the agenda; (2) provide information as to the consequences of alternative courses of action; (3) have their preferences and priorities taken into account and considered alongside other considerations; and (4) monitor and if necessary attempt to modify the implementation of decisions once they have been taken. From the public's viewpoint the name of the game is that municipal outputs should reflect their perceived interests and wishes. The act of submitting demands to those in authority may of course be synonymous in the minds of some participants with actually taking decisions. Indeed in some

instances, for example at public enquiries where the quasi-judicial atmosphere creates the impression of a formal power, this confusion is compounded by what councillors and officials say and do. Some people believe and are led to believe that they are being given an opportunity to make decisions. When they find out that their demands have not been met they are liable to get frustrated and angry.

From the perspective of those in authority participation may perform other functions. Dearlove (1974) subsumes the argument as follows:

> 'participation can force, or educate, the participants to gain an awareness of government problems and policies, and this will not only inhibit the public from pressing for solutions to their own problems but will enable the authorities to legitimise their decisions with the stamp of public approval'.
>
> (Quoted in Richardson, 1983, p.59)

Fostering participation and permitting demand-making by the public can be interpreted primarily as a management technique. The public as service consumers and residents will provide information about the actual or likely effects of proposed decisions as well as feedback on past ones all of which are not easily obtained by other means. In some cases the sheer numbers of the public potentially affected by a policy or proposal may make consultation by one means or other essential or desirable.

To politicans participation offers an opportunity to build support amongst ratepayers and voters. Even those representing safe seats want to show their gratitude and reward their constituents by being seen to keep in touch and take up issues of concern to them. Officers may well perceive such public consultation as good professional practice and anyway:

> 'they, too, need to know what is publicly acceptable in order to advise politicians in a sensitive manner'.
>
> (Richardson, 1983, p.109)

Whatever the reasons, it is possible that issues over which the public are actively involved are peripheral to the major budgetary allocations. The public may be competing for the crumbs while the municipal cake is

being sliced up by officers who are busy protecting their departmental domains. Minor skirmishes are occasionally being won but are the public really likely to win the war? Marxists would argue that as an element of class conflict campaigns over consumption issues merely deflect attention from more deep seated issues, and give local political systems public legitimacy as being supposedly open and pluralistic institutions. In the meantime the local state performs its role of subsidizing and facilitating private capital accumulation. The important point to note at this stage is the fact that participation is open to varied interpretations.

(iv) Assumptions

Thus the study has several aims and, in addition, the general approach adopted is based on a number of assumptions. First, it is quite possible that to many citizens in urban Britain *any* form of participation, except perhaps voting, is undertaken relatively infrequently and is seen to be marginally relevant to their everyday lives. Either the demands of daily life preclude active involvement, or politics - especially local politics - is perceived as unimportant and uninteresting. If British political culture and institutions of representative democracy are not conducive to participation, then no one should be surprised if many people are a-political or merely sporadically active. It is further assumed that for the majority, political activities between elections are an instrumental activity - aimed at achieving some tangible benefits - even though other motives should not be ruled out entirely. In terms of localised activity, Davidson suggests that:

> 'the motivation to engage in the political defense of one's neighbourhood frequently derives less from a sentimental attachment to one's neighbourhood than from a more pragmatic desire to maintain the quality of one's immediate residential environment and in certain cases investment in one's property'.
>
> (1979, p.18)

It is assumed also that it is immediate interest rather than broader ideological values which generate what Cox calls the 'politics of turf'. Whatever other generating mechanisms there may be it is assumed that spatial location/environment are of some relevance in the task of explaining political participation.

A second major assumption concerns the function of political demand-making and the interests of those who are involved in the process. As already implied, this study adopts a citizens or 'grass roots' perspective on political participation albeit one channelled through institutional forms of involvement but it must be clearly recognised that those in authority have their own perspectives. To councillors and officials, political demands serve a variety of purposes including providing feedback on existing policies (where the shoe pinches), revealing popular attitudes, providing information and an opportunity to build support. As Hain (1980) has amply shown in the case of the Covent Garden Forum, it can constitute a mechanism to neutralise dissent and mobilise support for official policies. From a political economy perspective, much of political participation in a capitalist society serves to further the interests of the ruling class by diverting fundamental economic dissatisfactions into manageable channels. Making minor concessions to demands from the working class are quite consistent with this interpretation. As Alterman, Harris and Hill (1984) note public participation may be used as a strategy intended to serve various goals, and only one of these relates to the desire that the public should have an actual impact on decision making. It is also:

> 'used as a strategy for gaining legitimacy and support.... to quell opposition or, on the contrary, to enable the redistribution of power away from established institutions'.
>
> (p.178)

In a recent attempt to clarify at what scale local political issues should be analysed, Taylor (1982) suggests that the urban scale is one of experience (the state is 'ideology' and world economy represents 'reality'). This notwithstanding most people still lead their lives in one city and indeed in their non-working life in individual neighbourhoods. This author does not share the view that what happens politically at the microscale is somehow trivial, mundane and insignificant. Judging from recent riots in British inner cities, insensitive policing is just as severe a problem to young blacks as the lack of jobs. Casual inspection of any local newspaper in Britain or analysis of urban surveys will reveal that there are amenity and public service issues which are apparently significant in local politics and salient to the lives of ordinary people. This point will be expanded

in the section outlining the *raison d'etre* of the study.

The final assumption to be noted is that there are several and, in some cases complimentary, theoretical approaches which are applicable to a study of this kind. Of course any case study is open to varied interpretations. The theme of neighbourhood demand-making is deemed to be amenable to analysis from several modern social science paradigms. Indeed if theoretical considerations are not adequately considered the case study runs the risk of merely producing a non comparable account of the specifics of one local authority. Principled eclecticism is the guiding theoretical stance adopted in this study.

(v) Reasons for studying local participation

With notable exceptions which will be referred to in Chapter III there is a dearth of detailed political studies of localised demand-making. The themes pursued in this particular study represent lacunae in existing research. Several writers have argued this point:

> 'the available literature supplies a rich supply of hypotheses and assumptions concerning the possible causes and effects of neighbourhood involvement but almost no data by which these claims may be assessed'.
>
> (Cole, 1974, p.78)

> 'Future research might explore the relationships between non-electoral modes of participation and the allocation of resources'.
>
> (Mladenka, 1977, p.286)

Research in this field is evidently uneven and incomplete. American case studies are more numerous than British ones which are limited in number and scope. Too many assumptions are made about demand-making in British cities, particularly in relation to how municipal authorities response to and process demands and why. Why have so many exhortations produced so little empirical work?

First, as was hinted at above, in an age of theory-building, details of street level problems and political action may seem to some too humdrum. Then there is the point that demand-making, like citizen-initiated contacting, lacks the suspense and drama of elections. Thirdly, there are difficulties in data collection - certainly when compared to voting studies - many potential sources are semi-

confidential, fragmentary, and reliable detailed statistics are hard to come by. It is especially difficult to find out what happens to political demands and why, because the policy-making process is often complex, extended, elaborate and opaque. Some analysts of public services may shy away from studying the influence of political demands or their distribution because it is felt that *needs* warrant greater attention.

> 'The correlation between need for public goods and the ability to articulate effective demands may be negative.... with the provision of goods being strongly biased in favour of elements in the community where needs are relatively few but whose calls for action are the loudest and most difficult to ignore'.
>
> (Muir and Paddison, 1981, p.179)

While accepting the logic behind some of these points, there are good reasons why neighbourhood participation in the form of demand-making *should* be studied in depth. It is readily conceded that many citizen demands are ignored, suppressed or accorded only a token response, nevertheless some at least are converted into authoritative outputs. Judged by the limited scope of some the literature on political participation, one would assume that political activity between elections barely existed and was insignificant in resource allocation. The 'vote buying model' (Hoare, 1984) may offer a plausible explanation of distributional decision-making on some occasions (just before and after elections, for example), but electoral processes are not necessarily always the most effective method of communicating needs and preferences. 'Messages via the ballot box are easily distorted, or may arrive too late to affect a specific decision' (Davidson, 1979, p.23). Furthermore, unlike elections or even referenda, citizens choose the content, timing and targets in demand-making.

> 'Citizen-initiated contacts on some problems.... may be very narrow but the citizen chooses the agenda of the participatory act.... Though the outcome may have little measurable impact on the overall system it may be very important to them.... Their own activity may make a difference.... furthermore a set of demands may represent a major allocative mechanism in society'.
>
> (Verba and Nie, 1972, p.54)

But what can demands contribute given that elected representatives

safeguard the interests of their constituencies, and professional officials supply technical expertise? One major contribution that residents can make is to alert those in civic offices to the impacts of their decisions and actions on the ground. Local authorities, with very few exceptions, are functionally organised, whereas local residents as service consumers in a particular area can see and feel the overall effects of policies. Smith (1976) found evidence that ordinary citizens know a great deal more about *localised* environmental hazards and problems than those in authority. It has long been accepted, especially in planning circles, that those who are directly affected by official proposals, plans and actions, should have an opportunity to express their views before decisions are made and a right to be consulted when they are being implemented.

There was a debate during the 1970s as to the most effective mechanisms for encouraging and supporting neighbourhood level participation. Neighbourhood councils (community councils in Scotland and Wales) have been established on a semi-statutory basis (Burnett, 1976). Voluntary organisations such as amenity societies, residents', tenants' and ratepayers' associations exist in many areas of British cities. If our goal is to achieve what Rich (1980) calls a comprehensive and balanced representation of interests then more detailed research is required into the efficacy of existing structures and procedures. Furthermore, the forms and degrees of success with which people participate and try to influence the distribution of public goods can tell us a great deal about modern urban life and local political systems.

A final justification for studying demand-making is related to public outputs. It is obvious that neighbourhood influences are only one of several key determinants of who (which neighbourhoods) gets what from the public purse. The mix of explanatory factors is an empirical question and may vary temporally and geographically. But only in the case of political demands can one conclude that it is inputs from the neighbourhoods which are directly affecting service provision. In all other cases, the quantity and quality services are a function of forces which are not proximate to the neighbourhood. Unless it is believed that officials and councillors have a monopoly of wisdom and knowledge, and residents in different neighbourhoods of British cities

know little and care even less (except at election time), then neighbourhood demands should be taken seriously by policymakers and academics.

(vi) Organisation of the study

The scope, themes, central variables, aims, assumptions, and raison d'etre of the study have been outlined above. How is a study of neighbourhood political activism in one British city during the latter part of the 1970s to be organised? As a theoretical backcloth, alternative paradigms from urban politics, sociology and geography are discussed in Chapter II. The merits and weaknesses of each are pinpointed and fruitful lines of enquiry noted. By way of contrast, Chapter III consists of a review of relevant empirical studies. These include research conducted in British and American cities and elsewhere. Although the selection of case studies may seem too broad ranging it will, at the very least, offset the danger of parochialism.

Chapter IV presents a series of explanatory models and detailed hypotheses to be tested. Sources and methods of data collection are also outlined. These include questionnaire survey, content analysis of the columns of the local newspaper, scrutiny of the minutes and files of neighbourhood organisations and official bodies, and to a lesser extent structured interviews with key officials, councillors and neighbourhood activists. The merits and demerits of data sources used are discussed, and the cartographic, quantitative and behavioural analytical techniques employed in the study noted. The major political and geographical characteristics of the City of Portsmouth are outlined by way of introduction to the study area.

The second part of the thesis comprises a series of chapters on different modes of participation in Portsmouth. Chapter V comprises an analytical snapshot of patterns of modes of electoral and non-electoral participation in the city. Social and spatial regularities are noted in the extent to which Portsmouth people are actually involved in local public affairs. By way of contrast, Chapter VI presents the findings of a small scale study undertaken in Southsea (the southern part of the study area) which asked a sample of residents about the extent of their actual involvement in local affairs and delved into the processes and issues involved. These two chapters set the scene for later chapters

which cover both the causes and consequences of public consultation by different municipal agencies in relation to planning, housing, education and transport.

Chapters VII to X comprise an analysis of institutionalised participation in Portsmouth. The channels through which residents (and others) are officially encouraged or permitted to make their views known to the city council and its committees or smaller groups of officers and councillors. Chapter VII concerns the role of *residents' committees* in general improvement areas (G.I.A.'s) in influencing decisions on urban renewal and environmental improvements in the city's older Victorian residential areas. The Housing department's *Joint Consultative Body* (J.C.B.) was set up in the 1960's, in part because the city council had built large post-war housing estates outside its boundaries notably at Leigh Park. This consultative body was an attempt to give out-of-town tenants some indirect representation. As will be seen in Chapter VIII, it does not deal with housing matters exclusively.

In Chapter IX consultation with parents and the public over proposed changes in 6th form provision in the city is analysed. In this case it was Hampshire County Council through its local area office which initiated a major participatory exercise.

The final empirical Chapter X outlines the procedure whereby the public are consulted over traffic regulation orders dealt with by city council transport engineers under an agency agreement with the county. Again the distribution of participants as well as issues, tactics and outcomes are described and explained.

Apart from re-stating the major findings and suggesting further research, the concluding part of the thesis has two main aims - a theoretical one and a practical one. It is apparent that a case study of this sort can be approached from a variety of theoretical perspectives and methodologies. The approach adopted to clarify the 'confused reality' of this case study is basically behavioural, managerialist and spatial. Thus in Chapter XI, significant aspects of the major findings which shed light on the validity of several alternative theories of political participation and urban politics will be highlighted. Then, on the basis of observed inadequacies in

existing procedures a number of proposals are made as to how to make political participation more effective and equitable. How groups of residents in Portsmouth (and elsewhere) can make political demands in such a way that their needs and views are not just taken into account by policy-makers but (where appropriate) significantly influence broader issues as well as more mundane everyday decisions. Specific suggestions are made which will enhance the quality of political participation. A series of innovations are suggested for Portsmouth which would improve on its existing practices.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Having outlined the scope and purpose of the study - an investigation into neighbourhood political participation and demand-making in one British city in the late 1970s and early 1980s - a deductive approach is now used to provide insights into the way in which to approach such a case study. Theories of urban policies and citizen participation are outlined with special attention being paid to their salient features, assumptions, foci and associated concepts. The main aim of the chapter is not to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of these theories per se but rather to consider the vexed questions of application and possible integration. A heuristic model which attempts to pinpoint key analytical links between a range of contrasted theories and different aspects of political participation is presented. There are of course differences of opinion as to the need for theory, and what approaches should guide the range of research currently being undertaken in political science and allied disciplines. Can theories be labelled as traditional or critical? Is it possible for some to be classed as outdated, and others characterised as having been applied and found wanting? Are middle range theories of more practical value than grand ones? What are the merits and demerits of individual approaches? Should empirical research start off on the basis of a single theoretical stance, and if not, how can contrasted paradigms be integrated? These key questions are unlikely to generate unanimity of response amongst political or social scientists. In this chapter, a selection of theories are discussed with particular reference to the theme of local collective political participation and demand-making. At the outset, however, a number of general points are made about the intrinsic value and empirical use of theory.

(i) In Praise of Theoretical Eclecticism

Clearly, there are dangers in taking on board the multiplicity of theoretical stances which can be found in the social science literature. As Paddison (1983) has observed eclecticism may undermine the potential for integration. Likewise, Couclelis and Golledge (1983) graphically portray the difficulties encountered by:

> 'the brave ones who dare challenge the dividing abyss, miserably foundering on the shoals of eclecticism, relativism and sheer ignorant confusionism'.
>
> (p.331)

Given that different paradigms are based on different assumptions, are focused on different levels of analysis, and employ contrasted means of validation, there are found to be problems in trying to evaluate, integrate and apply such a theoretical *'smorgasbord'*:

> 'There appears to be an assumption.... that these approaches are in some way alternatives; that we can select this concept from one approach, that method from another.... Unfortunately, this desire for eclecticism rests on the false assumption that these approaches are, above all, techniques for analysis rather than epistemologies'.
>
> (Eyles and Lee, 1982, p.117)

Then there are those who would argue that one particular approach is inherently superior in providing a starting point for political analysis in general or specific themes. For example, Fincher (1983) argues that the practice of sampling Marxist categories and combining them with concepts from other theories cannot be sustained epistemologically (or politically).

Nonetheless, these mono-theoretical arguments can be countered by points in faviour of careful eclecticism. Selecting approaches, concepts and techniques from a variety of paradigms in a principled rather than *ad hoc*, and arbitrary way, can overcome the dangers stated by Lee (1979):

> 'The available theory is used as a toolbox, or perhaps (more accurately) as a bran-tub, in which the spatial analyst rummages and finds pieces of theory that may be modified to provide.... a basis for analysis. Underlying assumptions .... are ignored in the anxiety to find, unwrap and rework the bit of theory selected for use!'
>
> (p.48)

A 'catholic' acceptance of the insights provided by several paradigms is preferable to a blinkered outlook for, as Saunders (1979) has stated, the last thing that is wanted is a straight jacket of theoretical metho dology which is applied uniformly to a wide range of problems. Nor is a strategy of fitting recalcitrant facts to a rigid theoretical framework acceptable (Fincher, 1983). It is all too easy for polarization to occur.

> 'To take the two extremes, at one pole are the jumbo marxists seemingly condemned to an endless re-run of Capital.... at the other pole are the humanists who seem equally blinkered, still thinking that the explanation of individual action resides in the individual....'.
>
> (Thrift, 1982, p.1280)

Using only one approach incurs the danger that research will find out only what a given theoretical perspective has encouraged the researcher to look for (Hain, 1980). There is now available in the social science literature, an impressive, not to say bewildering array of theories which await synthesis and application.

(ii) Theories for specific themes

While the question of merits and demerits of different paradigms for social sciences as a whole is an intriguing one, it may be more fruitful to consider the opportunities for theory building and application in relation to specific empirical topics. One such attempt has recently been made by Paddison (1983). He considers a variety of approaches which he believes can help to examine the problem of public facility location. His list includes the following approaches - community elite, pluralist, functional fiefdoms (urban bureaucratic), political ecology, and neo-Marxist. The sources of each model are noted, as are their basic characteristics and key questions posed by each.

In terms of local urban political participation, neighbourhood activism, similar theorisation can and should be attempted. As already stated in the previous chapter political participation needs to be viewed from below from a citizen's perspective, and also from the standpoint of those in authority and power. The causes, characteristics *and* consequences of neighbourhood political involvement are being studied. The socio-spatial distribution of political participation is one major focus, but it is by no means the only aspect that is being investigated. Motives and constraints are involved in an analysis of participation. Different modes to be examined in terms of who is involved, where, and to what effect. The complex nature of *issues* and *outcomes* is to be clarified. Finally, light is to be shed on the several *functions* of citizen participation - as a means of mobilizing support for a policy or its implementation; communicating the wishes and preferences of the population to local councillors and officials in the form of demand,

diverting dissent into manageable channels, and exerting social control in the interests of the status quo and private capital accumulation. If the form *and* functions of local political involvement are to be fully understood it is unlikely that any one paradigm alone is adequate for the task.

What, then, are the major approaches which provide competing or complementary bases for empirical work in urban political participation? The ones which will be reviewed in this chapter include pluralist theory, managerialism, public goods theory, locational theory, the neo-Marxist political economy approach, systems and behavioural theory. If all of these diverse theories are relevant how then, can they be employed? If, as has already been suggested, an eclectic approach is desirable, what strategy can be devised to achieve a synthesis and an integrated framework for any investigation? One possible tactic, which only partly acknowledges the possible contradictory/incompatibility of different approaches, is to apply different theoretical standpoints. However, this begs the question of what sort of data ought to be gathered in the first place. A more promising method is to subsume frameworks within each other, i.e. a 'multi level' approach to analysis favoured, amongst others, by Herbert (1979). This is a strategy which is used in the concluding chapter. Initially a model will be constructed however which develops links between different aspects of the political participation and a range of paradigms. Before that, individual approaches are briefly outlined.

(iii) Individual approaches

(a) Pluralist theory

As seen from the pluralist perspective the policy-making process is essentially one of governments sifting and responding to diverse demands. Pressure groups are representative of diverse societal interests and the political system is responsive to the changing concerns and needs of groups of citizens.

According to Dunleavy (1977) the pluralist interpretation of urban politics has three themes - (1) urban governments are controlled by politicians who are primarily concerned in gaining or staying in power by means of the electoral system and are, thus, responsive to external influences from the community; (2) expressed preferences reflect

people's interests; and (3) these interests will be reflected in political action.

> 'Since people who become politically active are those with an interest in the decision and since the 'weak' polity is responsive to external pressures, the outcome will faithfully reflect the balance of interests in the community'.
>
> (Dunleavy, 1977, p.194)

Urban politics has also been referred to (more in the American context) in terms of 'street-fighting pluralism' a pattern of unstructured, multilateral conflict in which many different combatants fight with one another over a variety of issues. Conflict can arise within and between neighbourhoods and between citizens, elected representatives and officials. The following characteristics are in evidence - diversity of interests which are often sharply defined and locality specific; variability in complexity of conflicts; instability of conflicts (the players, demands, and problems constantly change) and the interdependence of conflicts. According to this model, policy-makers are highly reactive to a continuous and highly changeable barrage of diverse demands from groups of citizens. Elected representatives play a crucial role in aggregating and evaluating political demands that emanate from below. Public opinion will play a decisive role in securing changes in public policy either directly through making demands by a variety of channels between elections or ultimately through the ballot box.

Pluralism as a theory and analytical framework has been criticised as unrealistic (Manley, 1983). Dominant groups, it is argued, are better equipped to win in zero-sum conflicts, and the ruling *elite* are able to prevent the accurate perception of interests by the powerless, can inhibit mobilization by those who interests threaten them, and control the agenda or urban politics by preventing certain issues from being raised at all. From the pluralist model the existence of a diverse range of interest groups is anticipated some of which will succeed in having their demands met.

(b) Public goods theory

The public goods theory of interest groups has developed a framework by which collective political participation is analysed on

the basis of individual calculations of the costs and benefits. It has been operationalised in relation to neighbourhood mobilization and the formation and durability of neighbourhood associations by O'Brien (1975), Rich (1980) and Henig, (1982).

This approach assumes that individual citizens will act 'rationally' in their own interests and that of their families. It is based on the attributes of collective or public goods - anything provided to any individual within a specified group (or area) cannot easily be withheld from all individuals in that group. An individual may decide to sit back and let others do all the hard work since he or she will benefit from any successful collective action even without having contributed to it. Thus, activists who lead groups or organisations as well as those in authority initiating consultation programmes are faced by the 'free rider' problem. They have in some way to find incentives to persuade as many as possible of those potentially affected to participate.

This dilemma is considered by O'Brien in relation to poor neighbourhoods. He suggests that, while residents of such areas do have a latent or potential base for common interest by virtue of their residence, they rarely act collectively in relation to the everyday problems which confront them.

O'Brien elaborates as follows:

> 'The principle which defines the latent common interests of neighbourhood residents is found in the nature of public service delivery systems... A host of public services ... are delivered to neighbourhoods. Since the quantity and quality varies considerably from one neighbourhood to another ... Since all individuals within a particular neighbourhood are similarly affected by the quantity and quality of services the neighbourhood receives, they have a latent or potential basis of common interest. This does not mean that residents of a neighbourhood are necessarily aware of their common interests and/or that they will see collective action as a reasonable course of action, but it is safe to say that if the quantity or quality of services in a neighbourhood are improved, all the residents will benefit'.
>
> (1976, p.9)

The public goods dilemma faced by organisers of collective action is, therefore, that the benefits of collective action will accrue to all regardless of whether or not individuals participate. It is clear that

some people, at least, in a neighbourhood may be unlikely to participate because they can automatically benefit from the involvement of others. Non participation on the part of the poor is logical suggests O'Brien. The nature of their lives and environment forces them to spend most of their time and energy on non-political activities. Life is a daily struggle to make ends meet, and they are unable and unwilling to afford the luxury of engaging in political activities which promise only to yield results sometime in the future (if at all). They also feel powerless and indeed they are powerless vis-a-vis the forces that control their lives; their experience leads them to doubt the efficacy of such involvement. Unless incentives, sanctions or pressure can be brought to bear on them the urban poor feel that *individual* action is more relevant to their solving their problems.

The suggestion has also been made that the face-to-face relationships involved in small group dynamics may provide such an incentive to join in collective action.

> 'The free rider problem is less troublesome in small groups where each individual has a proportionally larger stake, and informal mechanisms for ensuring individual co-operation can be employed'.
>
> (Henig, 1982, p.44)

This argument is also advanced by White (1976). The fundamental question, Rich believes, is whether or not the cost/benefit calculations of potential members act in favour of participation in a given neighbourhood.

> 'The probability is that residents will participate in a neighbourhood association should vary directly then with their estimate of the probability of success in securing collective goods'.
>
> (Rich, 1980, p.563)

Resources and costs vary between neighbourhoods as do the extent of demands for collective goods. Low resource areas are frequently characterised as having high demands for public services. Rich postulates that the combination of resource and demands which are optimal for the formation of neighbourhood organisations is most likely to occur in wealthier neighbourhoods - in others either resources or demands are lacking. The cost of satisfying the demand for publicly

provided collective goods are likely to be lower in affluent areas than in poor areas, since it is easier to secure marginal changes in service delivery than fundamentally to re-allocate public resources among services or geographic areas. The service needs of poor neighbourhoods are often so extensive as to be too costly to satisfy.

Leaders in different sorts of areas will, therefore, face varying degrees of difficulty in persuading residents to act together because resources/demands, and costs/benefits ratios associated with co-operative activity will vary in different socio-political settings. If sanctions and pressure can be applied in small scale situations, or selective incentives (for example, a newsletter or organisational help with an individual grievance), be provided then individuals may be prepared to get actively involved.

Critics of this approach would point out that people do not always behave as atomistic, profit-seeking beings. Furthermore, not all the issues which form the agenda of neighbourhood associations involve collective goods. In addition, political action may, for some individuals, be motivated by non-material goals. Whatever its limitations, the approach and the derivative 'exit or voice' model does provide insights into the individual basis of collective action. It follows that permanent or powerful neighbourhood associations are unlikely to be established in poor areas or those characterised by a fragmented, heterogeneous or highly mobile population. The theory also suggests that certain modes of political participation will be more frequently used in relation to public goods issues. For example, petition signing which requires little or no effort (apart that is from that of the organisers). Thus the approach helps us to understand what sort of localities political activity is likely to occur in and where it is not but also why demands get a variable response. Finally it provides a significant antidote to the pluralist assumption that groups will automatically emerge in all areas to contest issues which affect them.

(c) Managerialist theory

In contrast to the approaches discussed above, the managerialist thesis focuses on officials in public bureaucracies who, acting as 'gatekeepers' in relation to citizen demands, will largely determine

the form and outcome of political participation. Urban managers, in the light of their own ideologies and preferences, will mobilize support in their own interests and for their own policies by manipulating citizen involvement. Thus, some political demands will fail and others succeed. Indeed, Hain (1980) suggests that little real understanding of the process of participation and its significance is possible without an examination of the role of officers, the constraints in which they work and the control they exercise over the citizen participants. The degree of autonomy enjoyed by urban managers in their allocative and distributional decision-making and adjudication between the demands of urban residents, has also been debated. But there appears to be agreement that what Young (1977) has called their 'assumptive worlds' matter and have consequences. That they are influenced by the organisations in which they operate, as well as wider structural constraints, is accepted in more recent formulations of the managerialist thesis (Williams, 1982). It is now widely recognised that though planners, housing officials, engineers and educational officers and the like, do have considerable discretion, they are also subject to guidelines, decision rules and practices which operate within the agencies which employ them. They may impose their own values and goals on citizen participants but they themselves are subjected to organisational and structural constraints. Saunders pinpoints three sets of limitations operating to restrict the autonomy of urban managers - ecological forces, central government, and dependence on the process of capital accumulation.

Whatever the opportunities and controls which characterise the role of officials in urban bureaucracies, there is little doubt that they do play a role in evaluating political demands and converting them into decisions, and policies. Once formal decisions have been made by elected representatives, it is likely to be largely officers who implement them.

The managerialist perspective has been operationalised in a housing study by Nivola (1978). British local authority planners have been studied by Knox and Cullen (1981). Such an approach has not explicitly been used to explain how citizen demands are evaluated and if, when, and why they are converted into outputs. But, clearly, it provides insights into the conversion process which must be a key

element in any analysis of the factors which determine whether or not citizen participation is effective in achieving any tangible aims. If public demands are in accordance with the goals, values and interests of managers and their organisations, then it would appear they should stand a fair chance of success. This perspective also suggests that instigating consultation is sometimes a strategy to gain support and win acceptance for established official policies and proposals.

(d) Locational theory

Many human geographers have been content to use theories developed in politics and sociology to provide a framework to study political issues. However, over the last decade a series of spatial models of political life have been constructed which include those concerned with jurisdictional structure, locational conflict, the neighbourhood effect on voting, the impact of noxious facilities, and locational correlates of local political activism. Together, these constitute a middle range body of theory which may shed light on certain aspects of urban politics.

This approach has been termed 'political ecology' by political scientists though geographers, for the most part, have not used this term. As already noted some critics have expressed scepticism as to the validity of considering spatial location as an independent variable. Nonetheless, geographical variations in the distribution of participation and policies remain to be plotted; residential location may, in conjunction with other causal factors, exert an influence on political involvement; what have been called ecological uncontrollables (i.e. the fixed nature of the built environment) may constrain policy outputs, and land-use and the location of public facilities constitute major stakes in the game of urban politics.

One basic assumption is that spatial location *is* a significant explanatory variable. Where one lives may influence whether or not one is politically involved, and how. Distance from an unwanted intrusion in the living space will influence the distribution of participation, with a distance decay mechanism operating. The neighbourhood may act as a secondary or, in the context of friends and neighbours, as a primary reference group. Turf politics is concerned with organisations

trying (1) to attract into their areas that which their members regard as utility-enhancing, or beneficial, and (2) to keep out what is regarded as utility-detracting, or harmful.

In terms of specific hypotheses, it is possible that certain types of neighbourhoods (those, for example, which are physically bounded) are likely to generate higher levels of neighbourhood political involvement; contrasted ecological zones within the city generate different sorts of issues; and those living close to actual or proposed noxious facilities will (all things being equal) be likely to mobilize in protest. Furthermore, the ability of different groups to persuade or force the authorities to respond to their demands, may be influenced by the electoral character of the area (for example, its marginality) as well as the scale of the demands being made. Geographers are, of course, well aware that the spatial variable is only one of several important dimensions to be explored and that analysis has to be integrated into political processes and economic structure (Kirby, 1982). Nonetheless, the statement by Elkin (1974) that:

> 'there may be aspects of political behaviour that are crucially influenced by the spatial context in which they take place but research presently available to this writer does not inspire confidence.....'.
>
> (p.297)

remains to be fully explored.

(e) Behavioural theory

While many studies of participation - notably of particularised contacting - have adopted an aggregate, statistical metholology, a second approach which has been used is a behavioural one. As with the public goods approach the decisions of participants as to whether or not they are going to take political action, when, how and towards which agencies is under scrutiny. The stages by which people with a grievance consider what to do about it (if anything) have been modelled (Nelson, 1980). The stages in the demand-making process include consideration of the problem itself - is it sufficiently serious, is it the fault of government, do others feel the same way about it? Also the likelihood of political action being successful (including a sense of efficacy born in some cases out of previous experience); and the perception of channels to make the contact or demand. It is clear that a number of

key factors are important when political action is being considered. In the end, inaction or alternative action (for example, moving house) may constitute the eventual response.

(f) Marxist theory

While the approaches outlined thus far take the overall political economy as given, the neo-Marxist approach sees the links between an empirical theme such as political participation and the economic structure and mode of production of a society as crucial. Not only are the concepts and mechanisms to be fully understood but the emphasis must be firmly on how the economic system in a country like Britain sets the parameters for political life. Just as it would be difficult to imagine an analysis of the major dimensions of political participation in a state socialist society like the Soviet Union without reference to its mode of production and the dominant role of the Communist Party (see Oliver, 1969), so it is argued it is necessary to see the form and function of political activity in Britain in terms of advanced capitalism. Following Pahl (1977), the focus is not on who does what, or who decides who does or gets what, but rather on what determines who does and gets what (by way of political participation). The emphasis is, thus, not on the analysis of individuals, organisations or location but on the broad economic structures in the context of which political activism occurs.

The basic tenets of this approach include the central role of accumulation of capital, the reproduction of social relations, and class conflict. In a bourgeois (parliamentary-liberal) democracy like Britain, the class interests of capital are secured and legitimised. Local authorities (the local state) serve the interests of private capital accumulation. The level and scope of political participation are thus constrained. Citizenship is defined and political participation is channelled by suppression and fragmentation into forms which rarely threaten the status quo. Concessions are occasionally made to working class demands when they are able to be articulated (as social movements) but, for the most part, it is the needs of capital and the control which is exerted by a business *elite* which holds sway in the local political arena. Socio-economic inequality and ideological control serve to ensure that the pluralist model of local politics is an unrealistic version of reality. For example, Ossenbrugge (1983)

has characterised local forms of participation as part of the legitimation system in which the local state serves as an active organisation of class compromise.

There are variants in emphasis and interpretation within this political economy approach, but neo-Marxist writers agree about certain assumptions concerning the nature of British society, the role of (urban) public authorities, and the function of local participation both at and between elections. As Rich (1982b) puts it:

> 'Although there is certainly no consensus among critical theorists on the details of a theory of a state they do generally agree on two points.... In plain English.... this means simply that top priorities for local governments are (1) ensuring the industrial and commercial activities can go on by, for example, providing the necessary infrastructure... and (2) keeping the effects of those human problems not resolved (or exacerbated) by the operation of the market system (crime, poverty and so on) within acceptable limits so that urban life and commercial activity are possible'.
>
> (p.3)

Thus public services either facilitate private capital accumulation directly or are orientated towards class-reproductive processes and the maintenance of social control.

For capital the secret to success lies in ensuring that expenditure on infrastructural services are maintained and reducing the cost of social welfare (by cutting down on public expenditure). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to outline, let alone attempt a critique, of this holistic approach. What needs to be elucidated in greater detail, however, is the Marxist view of political participationin a given city. How is local voting, contacting, and protesting to be interpreted? Why do these activities take the form they do? How are working class demands diffused or managed in the interests of those who own, control and benefit from the accumulation of private capital? There is a varied and uneven body of the sometimes opaque theoretical writing and a limited range of empirical research on which to draw out some research hypotheses.

Harvey, who was an early exponent of this school, analysed the mechanics of capital accumulation and what he calls displaced class struggle over the built environment, the dwelling place and social

consumption. He points to the part played by residential segregation in diffusing working class consciousness and role of the state in investing in the built environment and shaping the city to match the needs of private capital accumulation.

Castells, by contrast, urges that attention be given to the significance of social movements in relation to issues of collective consumption. His belief is that state activity in education, planning and housing will stimulate the mobilization of protest (the development of urban social movements).

Cockburn, whose formulation of the term the local state, appears to have triggered off its universal though varied use, found that the remoteness of the officers and councillors from the working class meant that despite their sophisticated managerial structures they were forced to adopt a new strategy of neighbourhood councils which would channel the struggles of the working class over housing and community services in the direction desired by the local state (Cockburn, 1978). William Bunge (1977) has written a somewhat polemical treatise on working class struggles and increased central government control in American cities. He argues that working class consciousness is diluted by the separation of work and home.

> 'Working class interests are cemented by the crucible of daily production.... and unravelled just as fast.... at the point of reproduction'.
>
> (1977, p.64)

Dear (1981) asserts that the local state co-opts and controls the population through its expenditure on social consumption (as opposed to social investment). It will accede to some working class demands and develop citizen participation channels to legitimize its decisions. Political action is directed at the visible agencies of the local state which have little autonomy insofar as they have, for example, to pay huge interest charges.

Dunleavy (1980) points to the ways by which the local authority is influenced by capital in formulating and implementing its policies. This is partly achieved by a conspiracy between senior officials and

representatives of private companies. In persuading local authorities and the public bodies to produce high-rise prefabricated public housing, motorways and large hospitals, private companies have ensured their own profitability and the dependency of their clients. For example, civil engineering companies made handsome profits from the construction of high-rise blocks of flats and have been subsequently awarded lucrative contracts to maintain, renovate or even demolish them. In the process, working class tenants and residents were forced to move from their inner city dwellings to high rise blocks or peripheral housing estates.

Fincher (1981) has also provided a theoretical account of the local state's dependence on economic realities. Many cities, she argues, are in crisis because a decline in revenue is matched by increasing demands for services. Footloose companies indulge in fiscal blackmail, and cities are forced to spend massively on capital improvements, to encourage private investment and prevent disinvestment. When there is a possibility that such large scale infrastructural investment or spatially uneven targeting of public spending may be opposed by residents, then a strategy of encouraging the proliferation of community protest groups is employed. With dissent being thus neutralised by the divide and rule tactic, policies to which the local state is committed will be implemented without major modification or undue delay. Neighbourhood interest groups are acknowledged as representative or ignored, depending on whether their demands coincide with the city's interest in promoting capital investment. The same author has also provided a theoretical formulation of class struggle in terms of conflicts over items of collective consumption (education, health, parks and physical infrastructure) which may foster class awareness and capacity (Fincher, 1984).

Rich (1982a) also suggests that the process of capital accumulation will influence and constrain the size and composition of the public sector. He believes that, despite greater working class mobilization in Western Europe than in the United States, capital investment and its attendant debt service costs, will be favoured in budgetary allocations over collective consumption expenditures. He suggests that:

> 'while city council decisions that commit huge quantities of tax dollars to debt service and maintenance of capital investments often go largely unnoticed by citizens, the

> daily decisions of public agencies and personnel.... can become the focus of intense political attention'.
>
> (1982a, p.11)

Class interests will be served in that those who own and control capital will benefit while poor, service-dependent, groups will be at a disadvantage. Thus, while political participation involving demands for improvements in the quantity and quality of public services may make a marginal difference in distributive decisions and service delivery, it will have little impact on the major budgetary and allocative policies which constrain them.

Thus, although Marxist theorists see the social relations of production based on the work place as central to capitalist society, nonetheless, class conflict is evident in the politics of urban neighbourhoods. Participation is managed by a local state which ultimately operates in the interests of capital. Managers who are faced by working class demands and consumer protests will be unable to accede to demands while they are in conflict with those of local or increasingly non local businesses and companies. Community groups will be manipulated in such a way that they will only succeed in obtaining minor concessions related to service delivery and land-use. While major economic decisions are 'outside' the local and even national political agenda, political participation at the scale of everyday experience gives a semblance of democratic involvement and therefore legitimizes the system.

(g) Additional theories

The approaches discussed thus far are significant ones in providing concepts and insights relating to political participation. Of course, there are others which ought not to be totally excluded even if their relevance is more peripheral.

Recent developments in *organisation theory* clearly have relevance to understanding how neighbourhood organisations and public agencies actually behave. Salamon (1977) has identified some key elements in this approach and its relevance to urban politics. Organisations involved in making or processing political demands, he suggests, will attempt to defend and enhance their territorial, functional, and resource domains, and manage their dependency on rival

organisations by co-opting, or otherwise influencing, their activities. It is likely, therefore, that urban bureaucracies will be more sympathetic to demands which may add to their staff, revenue, powers, and status than to those which are likely to diminish them. Williams (1982) has recently identified a number of ways that the study of organisations is important in urban politics. He states that:

> 'the actions of agencies cannot simply be deduced.... they can only really be uncovered by an examination of practice'.
>
> (p.98)

Organisations have their own structure, dynamics and external relations, and the behaviour of individuals within them are influenced accordingly.

In its various forms and interpretations *systems theory*, based on the pioneering work of David Easton, represents another analytical framework which claims to provide insights into the confused reality of a case study. From the empirical research which explicitly or implicitly employs a systems approach, for example, Kasperson (1969) and Whitney (1969), and from more theoretical work by, for example, Munns (1975) the systems approach would seem to have a number of positive features - (1) it helps to chart the complex interactions between individuals and organisations; (2) given that one of the outstanding features of the participation and the policy-making process is its dynamic character (it involves a series of stages and decisions over a period of time), a systems framework helps to structure this process in terms of inputs, conversion, outputs and feedback. It shows how the outcomes of one decision may generate renewed demands. (3) It provides a rich lode of concepts including the term *demands* itself. More important, at least in its dynamic form as espoused by Munns, it elucidates the relationship between environment, demands, the conversion process and policies.

(iv) Towards a synthesis

As a result of casting the net wide, a whole series of approaches have been identified as being of relevance to the study of political participation. Although the intrinsic adequacy, or otherwise, of each approach has only been discussed in outline, nonetheless salient and significant features have been pinpointed. This broad scanning strategy has its potential dangers in that contested and alternative perspectives

can confuse rather than illuminate. However, as has already been noted at the outset, all too many theoretical publications are content to try to vindicate a particular philosophical position and points of convergence between them and scope for integration are lost. It is assumed that integration is a desirable goal mainly because it is believed that to depict paradigms as vying for theoretical supremacy is wrong, since they are often concentrating on different slices of the same reality.

Goldsmith puts it as follows:

> 'Yet each alone fails to provide a complete explanation of the city's political process.... To adopt any single perspective is to close one's eyes to the possible virtues and contribution of other theoretical perspectives.... the models should not be seen as competitive so much as complementary. We need to fuse our models together stressing how each has its part to play in explaining urban political processes'.
>
> (1980b, p.46)

Likewise, Henig states:

> 'The various theoretical positions mapped.... have contributed something to the understanding of collective mobilization, and it is conceivable that these contributions would have been smaller if theorists had removed their blinkers, opening themselves to the uncertainty and complications that faithful adherence to key assumptions allowed them to avoid. Thus the rational-choice theorists tell much about the potentials for mobilization of rational, self-interested individuals, although people do not always adhere to the model of rational self interest that those theorists take as their starting point... The radical analysts clarify the role of consciousness among the poor but fail to account for variations in response among neighbourhoods of the same class. While there is undoubtedly even more than can be learned from those who continue to work within the confines of each of those alternative paradigms, it is time to bridge the gaps between them'.
>
> (1982, p.225)

The problem is by what means can the gap be bridged. One method is to conceive of an explanation of political life and participation in terms of several levels. A multilayered approach has been advocated by Herbert (1979). Thus, a political economy approach represents the highest level (or scale) of explanation. In a median position comes

the managerialist paradigm and its focus on organisations and interests and rules that they pursue. At the lower level, the activities of individual participants are explained by way of public goods and behavioural theory. This framework would seem to be logical and coherent, even if linking the three levels is not always easy. This exercise will be accomplished in Chapter XI(ii).

As a means to help in the formulation of research hypotheses, however, a second strategy can be proposed. This is one which fuses perspectives by applying them each to different aspects of political participation. The model in Figure 2.1 juxtaposes selected theories and aspects of political participation. The arrows indicate the relevance of a particular theory to a specific aspects, and the labels show the key explanatory variables and indicate the scope of hypotheses that may thus be formulated.

It is *not* being argued in this chapter either that urban politics should become increasingly theoretical or that any one set of paradigms are suited to guide all political research currently being undertaken. Nor indeed that all empirical studies must be theoretically based. Clearly, there are detailed and competent case studies which stand up by themselves regardless of any theoretical considerations.

The basic proposition being made here is that, given the range of competing paradigms which are available to provide models, concepts and hypotheses for empirical research, it is surely short-sighted to ignore them. Which theories will be helpful will depend on the sort of topic being pursued. Whether an eclectic or single theoretical stance is taken, will depend on the preferences of the individual researcher. In relation to local participation, it has been shown that no one theoretical approach has a monopoly of wisdom, and insights can be gained from several. Thus while a positivist methodology based on managerialist, behavioural, and locational perspectives is adopted in this study, the findings are also interpreted from the viewpoint of other approaches.

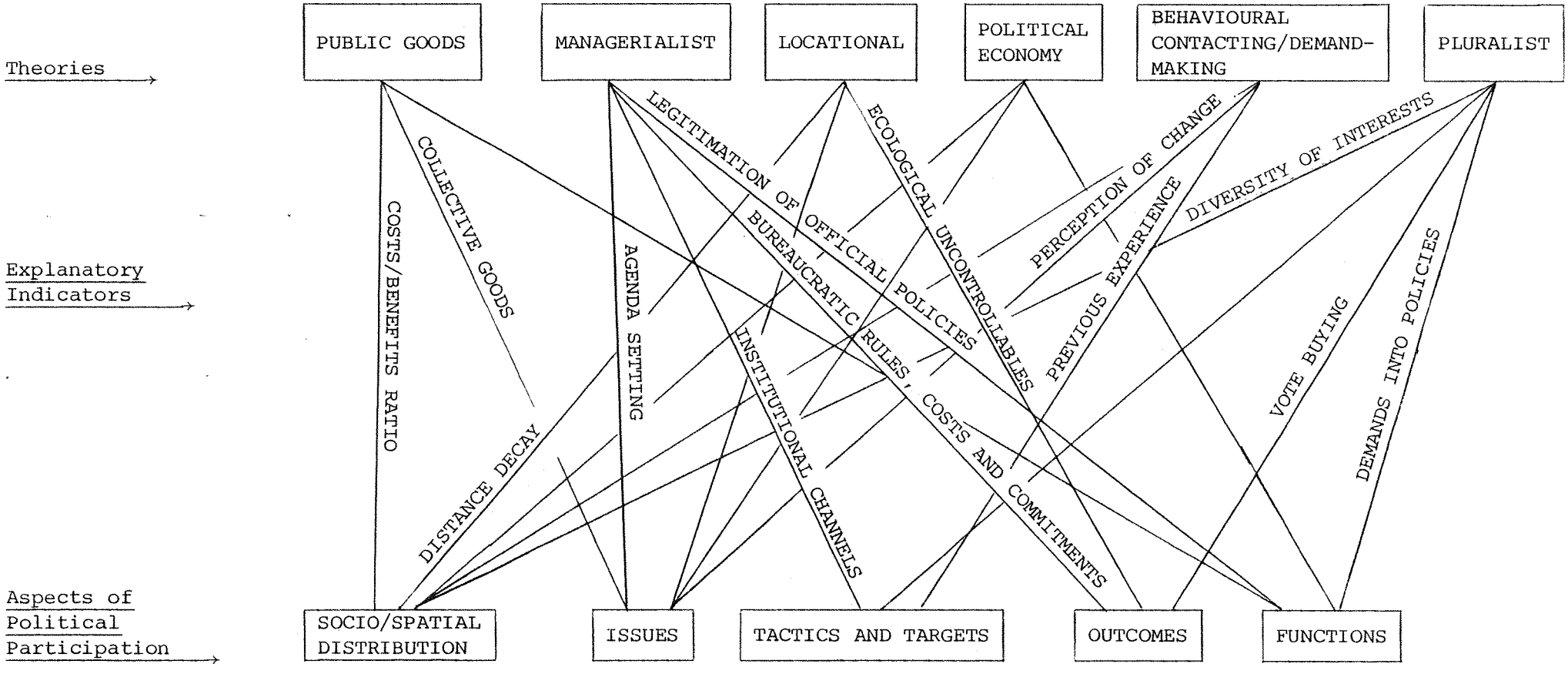

Figure 2.1 Links between theories and neighbourhood political participation

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

This chapter reviews selected research which has been undertaken in recent years in the field of urban political participation. The body of literature from political science and related disciplines is certainly disparate in terms of the theoretical approaches adopted, and themes pursued. It includes at least one study which is comparable in scope to the present one, and numerous others which cover one or more of the five themes which were outlined in Chapter I. Still others are noted because, although they are marginally relevant to the present study, they nevertheless provide useful ideas, concepts and findings. The material, which is not limited to British case studies, is arranged primarily by empirical topic rather than theoretical approach or national setting. The choice of case studies reviewed has been further governed by the necessity of (1) showing the relevant research from several disciplines; (2) covering all three elements of demand-making - causes, characteristics and consequences; (3) providing an up-to-date record of research, particularly in British and American cities, and (4) highlighting the published material which has stimulated the present study.

Naturally reference to empirical precedents is made throughout the study but the purpose of outlining this research at this stage is to provide a framework within which the Portsmouth investigation can be located. The coverage of the five themes - issues, patterns, officers and councillors, outcomes, and functions is inevitably uneven. It is still the case, however, except for the last named topic, that there is a sufficient number of previous studies to make an inductive approach viable.

(i) Locational conflict

There now exists a sizeable literature on the theme of locational conflict. A number of detailed case studies have documented the fact that land use issues are a major source of disagreement between city authorities, private developers and entrepreneurs, and neighbourhood groups. Such conflicts often arise from divergent interpretations of the public interest with respect to the location of (public) facilities. Locational conflicts are characterised by 'a strong spatial basis to

the arguments advanced by participants'. (Janelle and Millward, 1976, p.102). They involve disagreements about the use of a site with conflicts ranging from conventional redevelopment proposals, to planning controversies, to applying pressure for a pedestrian traffic light (Ley and Mercer, 1980). Comprehensive studies have been undertaken in the Canadian cities of London (Ontario) and Vancouver (British Columbia). Both are concerned - on the basis of data derived from a content analysis of the columns of local newspapers - to describe the spatial distribution of conflicts, classify the issues by type and intensity, analyse the type of participants involved (and their arguments) and in whose interests the issues are resolved. Patterns of conflict are causally linked by the respective authors to changes in the built environment (London), and the environmental values of politicised groups of residents (Vancouver). Because this research examines city wide issues, tactics and outcomes it is relevant to the present study not least because neighbourhood organisations and groups are amongst the participants who frequently oppose proposed changes in land use.

Janelle and Millward examine the role of what they term 'conflict generating forces' such as population growth and urban expansion, and the ageing and renewal of the built environment in bringing about different types of conflicts (redevelopment, preservation, transportation, housing, public services). They then plot the spatial distribution of issues over different ecological zones (core, transition zone, established residential zones and peripheral areas). They demonstrate that, in this Canadian city, certain land-use conflicts arise in specific zones and that most conflicts occurred in the inner city, with a peak being reached about three miles from the centre. Conflict intensity is high in areas which are being redeveloped, do not possess the full range of modern urban facilities, and in newly developed suburban neighbourhoods where there is a lag in the provision of services. Little, regrettably, is said about the characteristics of conflict participants, although this deficiency is partially remedied in a later reformulation of the research (Janelle, 1977). We can conclude from this study, that the character of neighbourhoods is a determinant of what issues become the subject of demand-making.

Ley and Mercer's study of Vancouver, which covers a two year

period in the early 1970s, is similarly important in demonstrating the locational focus of conflict. The authors are more concerned with the part played by the participants' guiding ideologies in explaining the incidence of land-use and public service controversies. They also recorded details of 'participants and their expressed grounds for involvement.... and which participants were successful in the outcome and which were not' (1980, p.96). They also found a high concentration of major conflicts in and around the central business district. A second important conclusion of the Ley and Mercer study was that community groups were found to be particularly active in opposing proposed land-use changes. Three additional findings were noted - half of the conflicts involved the mobilization of protest groups; in one third of the conflicts petitions were employed as a tactic; and in one fifth a demonstration was staged. These are common facets of political involvement which will be examined in Portsmouth. 'Livability' or amenity arguments were most frequently propounded by protest groups. A sectoral rather than concentric pattern of conflict intensity was identified but, interestingly, there were more controversies in districts where home ownership rates were lower and the length of residence on average was shorter. Housing prices are higher in western Vancouver and the authors conclude that where a higher proportion of income is spent on home buying, amenity is more highly valued, and threatening land-use changes more vigorously contested.

The authors highlight the existence of an articulate and politicized citizenry in the higher income, white collar, west side districts of Vancouver who could raise issues and enlist the involvement of sympathetic city councillors. The implications for this study is that the articulation of demands, and interaction with the city council, are key variables. In demanding pedestrian crossings residents were often pitted against officials from the city engineer's office. Finally, in relation to outcomes, citizen groups were victorious in nearly half of the cases in which they opposed developments, and in seven out of ten conflicts when they were proposers of land-use changes. Thus the Vancouver case study shows that not only symbolic responses are forthcoming from city hall. Ley and Mercer conclude with some cautionary caveats. They note that during many conflicts both actors and their arguments shift; compromises and postponements often result, and the

mismatch between short term and long term effects compound any notion of winners and losers. These two Canadian studies and what little comparable research that has been done in British cities would suggest that an uneven pattern of locational conflicts will arise and neighbourhood groups will be contestants in certain types of issues including offering resistance to proposed but unwanted facilities.

(ii) Noxious facilities and demand-making

There is an extensive literature on what have been termed noxious facilities, the extent of their putative or actual negative impacts, and consequent political actions taken to oppose their siting, or press for their removal. Several authors have classified noxious facilities and investigated the area affected by them (Bale, 1980; Dear, Fincher and Currie, 1977; Burnett and Moon, 1983). These studies of the perception of, and political response to unwanted facilities have included gypsy sites (Elcock, 1979), mental health facilities (Dear and Taylor, 1982). Another attempt to clarify the precise nature of noxious facilities and explain responses to them has been provided by O'Hare (1977). O'Hare shows how they can attract vocal opposition and suggests that while noxious facilities may provide benefits which are widely distributed they will be perceived as 'noisy, smelly, ugly, scary or otherwise disagreeable by immediate neighbours' (p.408). Opposition is essentially self-interested and will come from neighbouring residents who will argue that such facilities are not needed or that the site near them is not suitable. Protest marches, demonstrations, petitions and negotiations will be employed by opponents who, unlike the diffuse support for proposed noxous facilities, will be highly motivated. O'Hare is also concerned with locating noxious facilities equitably and providing compensation to those individuals and neighbourhoods that suffer. This could take the form of the provision of desirable facilities, reduced taxes, or improved service delivery to those residents who are adversely affected. Alternatively he believes the only way to make rich people live near nasty facilities (and keep poor people away from them) is to 'perpetually chase the wealthy about with new prisons, landfills and refineries' (O'Hare, p.545). It is often politically weak neighbourhoods which are, in the end, the recipients of such noxious facilities. We can conclude from this study and others like it, that demand-making in

cities, such as Portsmouth, will be generated when undesirable facilities threaten existing residential areas. A similar problem, though at first sight less threatening, is the issue of day centres for dependent groups. Evidence on the location of the links between neighbourhood character, political mobilization and the location of community-based treatment centres (CBTCs) has been provided by Davidson (1981) in Newcastle County, on the New Jersey - Maryland border. He found that no more than half of CBTCs were located in transitional, low resistance, inner city, neighbourhoods where supposedly deviant behaviour is tolerated, where a diversity of land uses makes such centres less intrusive, and a low income, mobile population is poorly equipped to oppose the establishment of such facilities. However, when the distribution of different types of centres was analysed, Davidson found that centres housing the more dangerous clients (substance abusers, juvenile offenders, mentally-ill persons and homeless adults) and centres explicitly identifying their function in their name, were generally found in the sort of inner city areas which are generally associated with low organised resistance to such intrusions. In contrast, centres in suburban areas served low stigma clients, had been established for many years, and were physically isolated by barriers such as open spaces and fences from neighbouring residents - the author speculates - therefore perceived them as separate from their own 'turfs'. Very much as an after-thought Davidson recognises that community opposition is not the only factor in siting such centres - ecological, legal, and professional constraints also operate. What we can deduce from such findings is that while the inner city-suburban divide is important, other factors are also crucial in explaining whether protests occur or not. For our purposes, the study highlights the importance of ascertaining in what sort of areas opposition is generated to these types of facility.

The studies of political activism in relation to environmental nuisances include a number which try to assess the relative significance of socio-economic, locational and attitudinal factors. One of these is a study of community attitudes and action in response to a noisy international airport (Goodman and Clary, 1976). It focusses on how neighbourhoods around the airport reacted politically to the noise problem. Six neighbourhoods were surveyed, varying in their distance from the airport, and socio-economic composition. The results indicated that individual complaining even in areas adjacent to the

airport was limited. Local neighbourhood organisations, however, were more active. Some 60% of all respondents expressed some degree of annoyance with jet noise but only half of these engaged in political activity aimed at getting a reduction in it. The relationship between exposure to noise, annoyance and political activity was found to be complex. It was not simply the case that as distance from the noise increased (and exposure decreased) that annoyance also decreased. Other factors such as attitudes towards how considerate the airport authorities were thought to be were significant. The authors suggested that actual levels of aircraft noise and relative location have only an indirect effect on the level of political activism because of the existence of intervening variables such as the degree of value attached to home or neighbourhood environment. Thus aircraft noise while a necessary cause of political activism is not a sufficient one. We see from this study that local response to 'noxious' facilities or environmental disturbance reflects a complex of factors. The analysis also indicated that:

> 'complainants tended to be better educated, have higher incomes and live in more expensive houses than non-complainants'.
>
> (p.459)

Political activists tended to be irritated by the noise (not all lived closed to its source), resided in an area of relatively higher socio-economic status, and felt the airport authorities lacked a sense of responsibility to neighbouring areas. In close proximity to the airport political action was prevalent regardless of tenure and socio-economic status, while further away these individual and contextual factors became more significant in determining who protested and complained. These findings reinforce the expected correlation between socio-economic status and activism but relate them, very importantly from this study's point of view, to the other variables of *location* and *perception*. In order to explore these variables further, and in relation to what issues, we need to examine the operation of more formally organised local pressure groups.

(iii) Local environmental pressure groups

The role of local environmental pressure groups in the United Kingdom has been described by Lowe (1977). These include locality-based

groups such as amenity societies, residents' and tenants' associations and community action groups, all of which are, he maintains, concerned with preserving or enhancing amenity and accessibility. He claims that these environmental pressure groups are partly responsible for the uneven distribution in environmental quality and access. While amenity societies representing well off, well educated and well connected areas successfully defended the purity of their patches, tenants' associations were less able to deal with the wide variety of problems facing them. He notes that groups representing working class areas tend to make specific and short term demands. All such neighbourhood organisations, however, are mainly concerned with location-specific issues. The author provides a summary of such groups, their raison d'etre, tactics, and what they do or do not achieve. Lowe's study assumes that people with white collar occupations will gain favourable outcomes, and those who are most dependent on public services are least able to influence the decisions which affect them. The major defect in the study is that although reference is made to empirical studies, Lowe provides few detailed findings to substantiate his assertions. The idea that residents' associations representing wealthy areas invariable win and tenants' associations always lose their campaigns is far too simplistic.

At the height of the debate over the advisability or otherwise of having statutory neighbourhood councils in urban areas in England, the Department of the Environment commissioned a research project on existing neighbourhood associations which was undertaken by the Institute of Local Government Studies at the University of Birmingham (Talbot and Humble, 1976). 224 associations replied to a questionnaire of which 22 were formally constituted neighbourhood councils. Not surprisingly these organisations had a variety of of titles - residents' associations (57 per cent), community associations (19 per cent), neighbourhood association/societies (8 per cent), tenants' associations (8 per cent), action groups (4 per cent), and ratepayers' associations (3 per cent).

Whatever their names, these organisations had several stated aims. Making representations on behalf of the local community to public bodies, i.e. political demand-making, was mentioned by 22 per cent. The goals of others included holding *ad hoc* public meetings on specific issues, scrutinising plans for areas, improving local amenities, developing social activities and community spirit; 86 per cent of groups

had clearly defined boundaries in which to pursue these activities. Under 'activities' all 22 neighbourhood councils said they made representations to public bodies, 90 per cent claimed to campaign to improve local amenities and facilities, and 77 per cent to protect the local environment.

Some clear distinctions emerged between the neighbourhood councils and other groups studied. The former made representations, were politically active, covered a defined area, considered all residents within the area to be members with full voting rights, covered an area between 3,000-15,000 population and had a committee elected by residents. In contrast, other neighbourhood organisations usually enrolled members and gave voting rights only to those enrolled, collected membership subscriptions, and generally had been in existence for longer. Apart from these differences all the organisations were remarkably similar in terms of aims, activities, democratic base, and areas.

In terms of the issues giving rise to demand making the neighbourhood councils protected their local environments by - pressing for traffic management schemes, for improved street cleaning, for tidying up neglected and derelict areas, and for the provision of open spaces. As far as campaigning for improvement of local amenities, this took the form of pressing for improved bus services, new bus shelters, waste skips, telephone boxes, improved street lighting, improvement in repair services for local authority housing and more facilities for tenants. The findings did *not* show that councils in inner city locations were significantly different from those in suburban locations in respect of aims and activities. The authors had anticipated that inner city groups would, for example, be more likely to fill in gaps in service provision and that suburban groups would be more concerned to protect the environment.

In the early 1970s Boaden undertook a detailed survey of 22 community-based organisations in the City of Liverpool. The earliest council was set up in Toxteth in 1976 in response to 'common problems attendant on physical decay and inadequacy particularly in terms of public indifference' (1973). Community councils in the city appeared mostly in working class areas including inner cities and fringe estates, they were not however always run by working class residents. None of their areas were entirely uniform but those which represented small

and cohesive neighbourhoods were more successful. The author suggests that neighbourhood associations in the city underwent a characteristic life cycle - substantial involvement of local residents at the outset, followed by a tendency to concentrate on a narrow range of issues. Such councils were formed in response to issues which affected local people but they were also encouraged by interested outsiders.

The success of community councils in Liverpool depended on establishing legitimacy with both the local authority and the local population, and this affected their style, their organisation, and their tactics. Community councils in Liverpool claimed to speak for whole neighbourhoods and not just simply for their members and -

> 'the success of this claim reflects the absence of clear evidence, the equally poor performance of alternative agencies, and the need for the local authority to find community groups through which to implement statutory and local goals of participation within a consensus framework'.
>
> (p.12)

Activists in Liverpool were predominantly middle class (they included several clergymen), lived within the community council area, were male, middle-aged and well educated. They tended also to be members of other organisations. The attitudes of activists influenced strategies and tactics which organisations adopted. Many issues however were raised at well attended public meetings when residents presented complaints about the area, and demanded to see something tangible done quickly. The local authority was the target of most demands and when there were disagreements about what to do regarding a particular issue it was frequently resolved *not* to take any action at all. Thus community councils 'channel and ventilate the conflict inherent in the locality' (p.30). The author also surveyed public attitudes towards these neighbourhood associations in Liverpool and found that few people felt that they had any major impact. The public's lack of confidence in them was, the author concludes, misplaced since they were consulted by the local authority over a variety of issues. In terms of the scope of their demand-making activities their leaders weighed up the chances of success and decided which issues to pursue and by what means. This case study shows that neighbourhood associations existed on a substantial scale in a major British city albeit with considerable variation in issues, tactics and outcomes.

By way of contrast, Cox and McCarthy's study conducted in Columbus, Ohio, constitutes a systematic investigation of the effect of five independent variables - neighbourhood problems, residential satisfaction, socio-economic status, presence of children and attitude towards home as an investment - on neighbourhood activism (Cox and McCarthy, 1980). Their results reveal important *caveats* about the roots of urban activism. First, although perception of existing neighbourhood problems was significant, nonetheless some people claimed not to have experienced any problems but nonetheless were politically active. The reasons for this surprising finding were, the authors postulate, because neighbourhood organisations often anticipate future threats as well as performing a social role. Their members also became active on a reciprocal basis on behalf of other organisations and areas. Secondly, for those with children and those of higher socio-economic status, the 'local problem' effect' is intensified, and potential activism enhanced. Third, 'investment orientation', i.e. the concern for the value of ones property, did not have the anticipated effect of increased local involvement.

The authors' evaluation of the approach underpinning their study is that it relied too much on analysis of the background of individuals and neglected contextual influences. They suggest that to understand neighbourhood activism the wider process of urban development must be understood. Infrastructure problems arise in suburban areas, and in older established residential areas there are 'behavioural externality issues', e.g. crime, vandalism, and barking dogs. They argue that activism is not a random occurrence but is related systematically to type of area, age of development and the differential impact of certain nuisances. The authors stress the contingent nature of the influence of neighbourhood problems for political mobilisation. Those with more at stake (e.g. children growing up in the neighbourhood) are likely to take environmental threats more seriously. At the same time some people reported themselves as active regardless of the nature or existence of local problems. This is an important finding since it suggests that some residents will have a more generalised and long-term commitment to the idea of neighbourhood protection *per se*.

Cornelius' study deals with the causes of, and public responses to, neighbourhood associations' demands amongst peripheral squatter

settlements in Mexico City. His sample consisted of six settlements contrasted in legal status, age, and level of public provision (Cornelius, 1974). The migrants were asked to name the most important problems in their community and their perceptions varied widely by type of neighbourhood. Depending on the quantity and quality of urban services in existence in their neighbourhood respondents regarded transport, clean water, schools and public markets as very important issues. Cornelius stresses that 'objectively' defined needs are not *ipso facto* translated into pressures on urban governments and there is no automatic link between felt needs and political demand-making. He shows that the strategies chosen for demand-making will depend on a variety of perceived factors - who is to blame for specific problems, and which channels are available and apparently successful in getting access to decision makers. The study is important both because of its analytical framework and because it is richly documented in terms of the process of converting needs into demands and the demand outcomes including the factors which determine them. Community improvement associations favoured petitioning as a tactic to bring their perceived needs to the attention of local officials. Unconventional tactics were seen to be too risky and uncertain because, they might offend those in authority. Cornelius reveals that the choice of targets reflected an accurate understanding of the realities of Mexican politics which are highly centralised. Individuals sought audiences with senior officials and politicians and if these did not produce the desired results they attempted to exert indirect pressure by publicising their demands through the mass media. Persistence and skill was used by representatives of the settlements to draw attention to their problems, and they did sometimes succeed. One of the reasons why tangible benefits were achieved (and this varied from one neighbourhood to another) was because in this case the allocation of government benefits was *not* governed by routinized, technical criteria. Thus officials responded in a highly personal and often inconsistent way to petitions from low income neighbourhoods.

> 'Stubborn refusals to urbanize a squatter settlement on technical grounds that topography or subsoil conditions would make the introduction of basic services prohibitively expensive have given way virtually overnight to a decision to provide all necessary services'.
>
> (p.1143)

The absence of formally established guidelines by which needs could be evaluated and the availability of multiple access points within the government bureaucracy meant that official responses were unpredictable and even firm commitments were not always put into effect. This case study is sufficiently comprehensive and yet detailed enough to provide a model for the present study despite the contrasted geographical circumstances in which it was conducted. Cornelius' work highlights the importance and feasibility of studying both patterns and processes.

(iv) Relations between neighbourhoods and politicians

The small upper mid-western American university city of Ann Arbor provided the setting for Davidson's study of 'political partnerships' or the political links between councillors and neighbourhood residents (Davidson, 1979) Davidson analysed the patterns of electoral turnout, public influence attempts, and private contacts. These three forms of participation were analysed with reference to the ecological, social and political characteristics of the city's neighbourhoods. High voting turnout was found to be associated with inner city and peripheral locations, 'pivotal' (marginal) precincts, and areas of high social status, high owner/occupation rates, and Republican Party support. On the other hand, named and easily physically identifiable areas did not record high turnout rates. One notable feature of participation between elections was that individuals and groups were permitted to address Ann Arbor city council meetings. At the beginning of the session citizens had an opportunity to speak under an agenda item called 'Audience participation - Reserved' (prior notice was required in order to be allotted time to speak at this stage). The subject matter of these public interventions was unrestricted. The Council did not have to be debating the issue raised or indeed have any authority over the matter. At the end of these regular council sessions citizens who remained were again invited to comment on the council's deliberations. Finally in the public hearings on planning and land-use decisions and local ordinances which were incorporated into council meetings interventions from the public were only permitted on the issues on the agenda.

Over a five year period the author discovered that there were nearly two thousand such public influence attempts. Although some neighbourhood organisations and individuals were regulars at these sessions nonetheless this total thus represented a 'barrage of public

requests for action'. They consisted of vague pleas to the city council to do something about neighbourhood problems as well as more specific demands on issues being resolved by elected representatives. The author recorded, for each of 213 census districts in the city, the total number of public influence attempts, number of different speakers, whether it was city wide and local issues which were the subject of their demands. The findings revealed that residents in some neighbourhoods made little use of this form of participation. There were, however, some 35 'active' areas which accounted for over 50 per cent of the total public interventions which were evenly balanced as between city-wide and more local issues. As far as the sort of areas engaged in public influence attempts on neighbourhood issues were concerned, Davidson found that most statistical associations between neighbourhood characteristics and the volume of public influence attempts were quite weak. When size was controlled the most striking result was that the socio-economic composition of neighbourhoods did *not* correlate strongly with any of the public influence variables, neither did housing tenure or location. One positive finding was that the areas which had a higher proportion of officials of local public agencies living in them made a large number of demands. Davidson believes that these 'politicos' provide information about local issues to residents which stimulated participation. In contrast those residents who lived in suburban, named and well bounded areas unexpectedly did not always raise a large volume of issues. In the politically active areas there were local issues - planning disputes, road construction projects, and inadequate city services - which seem to have continued over a considerable period of time. Thus it appears that in suburban Ann Arbor it was issues of long duration or a succession of problems in one neighbourhood that stirred residents to sustained political action. One neighbourhood, for example, had to contend with school overcrowding, a proposed airport expansion, and a major road project. Davidson notes that:

> 'Among those neighbourhoods which are continually threatened, however, some have a sense of collective identity which greatly facilities the ability of residents to use the public influence forums of the city council to express their desires'.
>
> (p.93)

The study also examined the distribution of less public contacts between residents and councillors. Unlike the interventions at council meetings, individuals and groups also made requests to one or more councillors, for assistance in resolving problems. Service-delivery contacts occurred most frequently in relation to the bus system, snow removal, rubbish collection, loose dogs, tax assessments, traffic, parking problems and most of all, the condition of the city's streets. Both 'explanatory' and 'exclamatory' styles were used; the latter often accompanied by electoral threats which in Ann Arbour were somewhat hollow since there were few marginal electoral areas. Davidson observes that those who used the exclamatory style seem unsure of themselves and frequently become strident and 'turned off' their audience. There is also a suggestion that certain types of environmental threats, for example the proposal to locate a day care centre in a quiet residential neighbourhood, led to emotional appeals or electoral threats. Most councillors, states Davidson, were moved more by a 'pathetic' outcry of a group of people who saw themselves wronged than by noisy threats which only had the effect of alienating councillors.

The author had some difficulty in obtaining precise, systematic data on the distribution of private influence demands, because councillors varied in their willingness to divulge such information.

Citizens in Ann Arbour encountering a neighbourhood issue which affected them sometimes formed close working relationships with councillors. These Davidson calls political partnerships. Even if they did not have such partnerships they still tended to -

> 'collected resources. Whether it be signatures or petitions, money to hire a lawyer, bodies to stage a sit-in, or commitments from other groups to support the cause, a group must have something to bring to bear on decision-makers to get them to respond in the desired way'.
>
> (p.186)

All types of neighbourhoods were successful on some occasions; those groups that were in political partnership with their local councillors found it easier to win, because timely interventions were made on their behalf.

Davidson's study is valuable because of its findings with respect to the variation in the volume of public and private demand-making

between different areas, as well as details of the institutional channels available in Ann Arbor. The fact that councillors played such a crucial role in the articulation of demands and in determining their outcomes are also significant findings which require investigation in the British context. Elements of Davidson's work have been adopted in this study, for example, the study of deputations to the city council meetings in Portsmouth.

(v) Attitudes towards and involvement in protest

A recent study of protest potential and behaviour in Reading provides some important insights particularly into attitudes towards different types of political participation (Peake, 1983). Of the three recently built estates studied two were predominantly local authority estates and one owner occupied. A general lack of trust and sense of efficacy in participatory democracy was indicated by the fact that 90 per cent of respondents thought that politics were too complicated and difficult to understand, and 80 per cent of the 190 sample saw voting as the sole activity which might affect government decisions. (A surprisingly high percentage of respondents (88 per cent) claimed to have voted in a general election).

The basic aim of the study was, however, to determine the propensity of residents in three estates to participate in various types of *protest* activity.

Questions relating to a wide range of protest activities were asked. Direct types of protest activity were examined, i.e. those that 'respondents felt strongly enough to resort to their own methods of expressing their dissatisfaction, rather than waiting for the political system to give them an opportunity to do so' (p.467). Respondents were asked to what extent they approved of different types of protest behaviour, how effective they found them, and which types of activity they had been involved in during the last ten years, or might be in the future. Figure 3.1 gives the results of this exercise. The author's interpretation is that potential protest behaviour passes through a series of thresholds from conventional political behaviour through to acts of violence. Not unexpectedly respondents had no objection to making official complaints, signing petitions or joining an action group and these were all thought to be

Figure 3.1 Percentage of Reading respondents classified according to responses toward items relating to protest behaviour

(Source, Peake, 1983)

	Refusing to pay rents or rates	Blocking traffic to stop potential accidents	Using personal violence	Signing petitions	Painting slogans on walls	Occupying buildings	Officially complaining to local councillors	Distributing pamphlets	Joining a community action group	Causing damage to objects	Complaining to Town Hall officials	Having peaceful demonstrations	Attending public meetings
No objection	31.0	61.5	2.6	88.9	2.6	21.5	95.7	76.8	92.6	1.0	93.6	85.2	78.4
Slight objection	14.7	12.6	4.7	4.7	3.6	16.8	2.1	13.6	2.6	3.1	4.2	8.4	11.5
Disapproval	36,8	21.0	45.7	3.6	50.0	37.3	1.5	4.7	1.0	49.4	0.5	3.6	6.8
Strong disapproval	12.6	2.6	43.6	0.5	43.1	18.9	0.0	2.1	2.1	45.2	0.5	0.5	1.5
Very effective	15.1	34.7	4.7	10.0	2.6	10.0	19.4	5.7	16.8	5.7	12.0	10.0	10.0
Somewhat effective	26.3	35.7	3.6	57.3	5.7	26.3	52.1	42.6	58.9	7.8	43.6	53.6	56.8
Not very effective	25.2	22.1	25.2	25.2	31.0	33.6	25.2	40.0	17.3	24.7	34.2	29.4	23.6
Not at all effective	28.9	4.2	61.0	4.2	57.8	24.2	4.2	8.9	1.5	58.4	7.8	2.6	5.2
Have done	8.9	5.7	2.1	72.6	3.1	2.6	46.3	15.7	31.0	1.5	38.4	13.6	23.1
Would do	6.8	26.3	1.0	14.7	0.5	4.2	24.7	16.8	20.0	1.0	32.6	23.6	14.2
Might do	17.8	23.6	5.7	8.4	1.5	11.0	21.5	24.7	24.7	2.1	19.4	24.7	24.7
Would not do	65.2	43.1	90.0	3.1	93.6	81.0	6.8	42.1	22.1	94.2	8.9	38.9	37.3

effective. Over 70 per cent of respondents had signed a petition, between a third and a half had made official complaints, and nearly a third belonged to a community action group. Thus the scope of participation in these three estates was broader than just voting. Other conventional forms of involvement also registered high levels of approval but were actually less used, for example joining a peaceful demonstration and distributing pamphlets. As far as more militant forms of protest were concerned, some respondents differentiated between they themselves committing a certain act, approval of others doing it, and acknowledging that it might be effective.

Peake differentiates between forms of protest behaviour for which legal channels of access are provided, and indeed which is positively encouraged; actions which may not be encouraged but are not perceived as a threat; and unorthodox (illegal) forms of behaviour. A variety of variables were used to explain an individual's 'protest potential' (propensity to protest and actual record of so doing), namely age, gender, voting record, party affiliation, income, level of schooling, housing tenure and car ownership, occupation, social class, and how often respondents spoke to their neighbours about political matters. Three types of protest activity were singled out for analysis - refusing to pay rents or rates, attending public meetings, and joining a community action group.

Surprisingly despite a low level of political knowledge and participation in local affairs some three quarters of respondents stated they were willing to work with their neighbours in trying to solve local environment and public service problems (four-fifths on the owner/occupied estate). This suggests the widespread existence of positive attitudes towards neighbourhood activity, even if this had not always been, translated into actual participation. The tactics preferred did however vary between estates, with a residents' association being seen as the vehicle amongst owner/occupiers and mobilization around a petition on one of the local authority estates where there was no neighbourhood organisation.

A second point to emerge was that the actions that respondents were prepared to involve themselves in were those which involved reacting to decisions already taken by local officials and thus the

question arises as to whether their role in policy making would be anything other than marginal, and the changes effected in service provision, minor.

Whether Peake's findings will be replicated in Portsmouth remains to be seen. But in these three new estates she found that a higher level of protest potential was recorded than anticipated; participation in local elections was seen as an extension of voting at national elections and thus local elections were not seen as an effective channel of access to bodies responsible for resolving issues that arise; a sense of efficacy in the local councillor was limited (19 per cent stating that making a complaint to a local councillor was 'very effective' and just over half as 'somewhat effective') whereas signing petititions, joining an action group, having a peaceful demonstration and attending public meetings were all rated more highly; protest tended to be sporadic and limited in effect being concerned with locality-specific single issues.

This study tells us a great deal about the channels through which protest may be articulated. It reveals the potentialities for neighbourhood action and the apparent willingness on the part of residents in newly established estates to get involved in local issues, despite having little faith in the political system as such.

Effective actual, as opposed to potential action, however, depends on having resources and access. A study of the policy of housing working class people in high rise blocks undertaken by Dunleavy (1977), offers a scenario characterised by the powerlessness of tenants and domination by private construction companies and professional officers. The author suggests that new blocks of flats in east London represented an improvement in housing provision but a deterioration in overall amenity - loss of garden, transition from familiar streets to impersonal and inadequately serviced estates and family stress arising from living in high-rise flats. The transition was unpopular yet those who had to move were unable to make an effective protest. After the Ronan Point collapse in the London Borough of Newham, nearby Beckton residents were unhappy with their impending move to high rise accommodation but they were coerced and manipulated by the council who themselves were under pressure from central government and the construction industry. Dunleavy

portrays the massive imbalance in resources and opportunity to influence events between the residents and the local authority. A protest committee was formed by residents and a petition with 700 signatures was raised. However, official plans were too far advanced to be altered, and the residents' demands were rebuffed. A letter from one of the leaders of the protest was published in the local newspaper:

> 'Approaching the problem in an orderly and gentlemanly way is getting us nowhere.... if you can't get anywhere peacefully and with common sense what is left?'
>
> (*Newham Recorder*, 13th February, 1969, p.13; quoted in Dunleavy, 1977, p.210)

Dunleavy explains the almost total defeat of Beckton residents in terms of their lack of resources, organisational base and support. The council did their best to suppress the conflict and they persistently refused to acknowledge the existence let alone the legitimacy of the action group. Despite misgivings expressed by individual councillors the Labour controlled council was unwilling to unravel its redevelopment proposals and the relative power of the participants was such that there was never any question as to the outcome of the issue. The important point to note is that protest groups or indeed any demands are unlikely to succeed if a local council, particularly when it is controlled by one political party, is heavily committed to a particular policy.

(vi) Causes and response to individual contacting

There are dangers in assuming that conclusions from case studies of one type of participation - in this case individual contacting - can be used as explanations of other types of demand-making. However, much empirical work has been done, particularised citizen contacting, and some of its methods and findings may be of relevance (Eisinger, 1972; Jones, et al, 1977; Mladenka, 1977; Sharp, 1982 and 1984a and 1984b; Vedlitz, et al, 1980; Wall, 1974). *Particularised contacting* refers to complaints, requests for information or benefits, as well as direct demands for political action made by or on behalf of an individual. Most of these studies explain the intra-urban variation in the volume of contacts to municipal agencies and some of them also analyse the quality of response to them.

In their study of environmental enforcement in Detroit, Jones and associates found that neighbourhood variation in need and awareness helped to explain the distribution of individual contacting. The authors assumed that the need to complain *and* awareness of how and where to do so would *not* be present in either rich or poor areas. In the former need was absent and awareness was lacking in the latter. Some support for the hypothesis that areas of median social wellbeing would indeed generate the greatest volume of contacts was found. The authors then investigated whether it was the nature of the bureaucracy, the content of citizen contact, or the characteristics of the contactor which determined what sort of response was forthcoming. Virtually all complaints were investigated as a matter of course. Thereafter some were dismissed as not severe enough to warrant action, but in two thirds of the cases environmental violation notices were issued. In terms of the *quality* of response (as measured by the processing time and the per cent of 'no actions' taken) they found that (1) having complaints relayed by a community group did not make the processing time shorter; (2) in the face of sustained demand in a particular geographic area the municipal agency's resources became so taxed that the quality of response suffered, and (3) better off neighbourhoods did not fare appreciably better than others (neither were black neighbourhoods discriminated against). Generally the areas from which the greatest volume of complaints were received obtained the poorest quality of response. This research offers the intriguing possibility that variation in the quality of the response to demand-making may be attributable to differences in the volume of participation emanating from neighbourhoods rather than their socio-economic composition per se.

This needs/awareness model was tested in Dallas-Houston by Vedlitz and colleagues. They used more sophisticated indicators to measure an area's social wellbeing. They rejected the use of distance from the city centre and age of housing, in favour of the average value of rent and the median family income of census tracts (enumeration districts). The distribution of contacts over a wider range of issues was analysed including street maintenance, animal control, refuse disposal, public u tilities, and policing. What emerged from their study was that poorer areas recorded a large volume of contacts. They suggested that in these needy areas there will always be some aware individuals who know how and where to complain. The fact that a visible centralized agency

(to which all complaints were directed) was in operation in their study area (but not in Detroit) may have been significant. In a situation where knowledge of where to contact is widespread the level of contacting becomes essentially a function of need.

These studies alert us to the potential of area based statistical analyses of action. They also show that the association between social wellbeing and levels of political participation between neighbourhoods is not straightforward. They serve as a reminder that the quality of response on the part of local bureaucracies is in part determined by the overall volume of demands coming from a given area. The availability of organisational resources and the existence of rules also influence how effectively complaints from the public ara dealt with by municipal agencies.

Oliver's work reveals that Soviet citizens make demands about the whole range of municipal activities and services:

> 'The citizens complain about the quality of new construction; request additional housing space- and complain about the slowness of housing repairs and their quality. They make demands concerning the quality, assortment and availability of goods in stores and shops and the location of retail outlets and restaurants. They complain about the quality of service in retail outlets, restaurants and consumer service facilities. They complain about taxi service; they make demands concerning mass transportation facilities. They express their concern about health facilities, about poor street lighting, about unkept parks, about cultural facilities, and about the condition of streets and sidewalks. They complain about the bahaviour of officials and they complain about the activities of their neighbours. The regime that has undertaken with great pride and deliberate purpose more activities than any other in modern history is confronted with demands covering a wider range of subjects than any regime in history'.
>
> (1969, p.467)

For the most part these complaints constituted raw demands - that is they were not aggregated into political demands and were processed within the political system. It was hard pressed local officials who faced this barrage of complaints though some were addressed to higher officials in the hope of attracting more attention. Demands in the form of electoral mandates in theory had to be disposed of within a period of 20 days, but in practice this was not always achieved. The flow of demands in Moscow was encouraged by the authorities despite

evident problems in responding to them. Local officials frequently were powerless to correct the conditions that gave rise to demands since it was centrally determined investment and allocation priorities which were largely responsible for them. All that was offered by bureaucrats in many of these cases was reassurance that they were aware of the problems and were attempting to ameliorate the situation. In an attempt to stem the deluge of complaints officials resorted to falsifying reports, 'red tape and paper shuffling', and curtailing office opening hours. Oliver states that many demands were considered legitimate because they were for services to which the citizen concerned was fully entitled. On the other hand certain demands were discouraged by the authorities including those that challenged the well established Communist party policies. In Soviet cities there were no neighbourhood or other local interest groups to independently aggregate raw demands into policy proposals. Thus complaints provided information to urban administrators on where the shoe was pinching. From the citizens' point of view they sometimes resulted in minor improvements. The study is important because it highlights the limitations of individual complaining as a really effective means of participation. Where group activity is discouraged or disallowed, as in Soviet cities, great power is placed inn the hands of officials. Because constraints are imposed on officials from above they are forced to *manage* demand-making. The work by Oliver, and Friedgut (1978) shows that participation in its particularised form was widespread; that complaints involved individual grievances regarding particular services or amenities; and that major policies were rarely altered. Although conducted in very different circumstances these studies reinforce the view that in many cases demands are managed, and success from the citizens' viewpoint is limited to minor matters.

(vii) Neighbourhood groups and local government

If it is indeed the case that individual demand-making is restricted in scope and outcome then what about neighbourhood organisations and protest groups? Are they influential with city councils and bureaucracies and how are their demands perceived by key decision makers? (influence refers both to the amount of access a group has to a public agency and its success in getting its views accepted). What empirical evidence can be found to indicate *why* some groups are more successful than others?

Schumaker and Billeaux (1978) believe that both the characteristics of groups and the nature of their demands will determine how influential they are. Their survey of senior administrators asked how responsive agencies had been to the demands of different types of group, and why. Officials were asked about factors which influenced their attitude towards groups. Organisational stability, group cohesion, 'community-regardingness' of demands; leadership; and unconventionality of style were given as possible determinants. Administrators believed that views of neighbourhood groups were among those least represented in local bureaucracies. They suggested that the structural characteristics of organisations - their stability, cohesion and size were *not* seen as significant. Rather the nature of demands and the tactics used were more important in influencing the degree of access they accorded different groups. Official perception of whether a group's demands are in the public interest (community-regarding) or narrow and selfish appears on the basis of this study to be a crucial element.

Cousins' investigation of the extent of involvement in decision-making by voluntary groups in three south London boroughs (Bromley, Lambeth and Lewisham) considers other aspects of neighbourhood group-local authority relationships (Cousins, 1976). He looked at residents' and tenants' associations amongst others. Cousins found that while residents' associations generally had firmly established and co-operative relations with officials and elected members, they would nevertheless occasionally resort to tactics such as petitioning and holding demonstrations. Tenants' associations, on the other hand, frequently found themselves in conflict with the council but nonetheless mainly confined themselves to using orthodox means of influence. The tactics the tenants' associations employed depended on the issue at stake and the initial response to their demands. Belligerent tactics were often combined with behind the scenes negotiations. Tenants' associations saw contacts with *officials* as being more valuable than those with councillors, and it was chief officers who set the style of relations which departments in these boroughs had with such groups. There were occasions when neighbourhood organisations succeeded in their demands, especially when they had worked closely with representatives of the local authority in relation to housing and planning issues.

In this context, the work of Dearlove on the relationship between

local groups and their local councils (Dearlove, 1971, and 1973) is illuminating. Although analysis is not solely based on neighbourhood based groups, its exploration of the links between councillors and local pressure groups in the London Borough of Kensington and Chelsea is highly relevant. He believes that councillors' perceptions are the crucial intervening variables linking group demands to policy outputs. Although size, prestige, cohesion, leadership, distribution of members, and the ability to really support and resources were all significant factors affecting the capacity of any group to influence policy, Dearlove maintained that it is how a group and its demands are perceived by councillors that is of vital importance. In this borough the rules of access were established and enforced by councillors and thus their predispositions were crucial. The ideology and policy preferences of elected members acted as a screen which filtered their response to demands from the public.

> 'The assumption in this case is that councillors will be more likely to allow effective access to a demand that does not run counter to their own policy dispositions than they will where the demand goes against their own view as to what they feel the council should be doing'.
>
> (Dearlove, 1971, p.160)

Councillors in Kensington and Chelsea perceived and evaluated interest groups in terms of their composition, the content of their demands, and the tactics they used to convey them. Conservative councillors were prepared to differentiate between what they saw as 'good' (helpful) and 'bad' (unhelpful) groups, and 'proper' and 'improper' tactics. Helpful groups were those whose demands reinforced or conformed to existing council policies and who worked with the council (as opposed to merely making demands of it). Working through local ward councillors was seen as the most legitimate channel, and contacting the chairmen of committees was also acceptable. On the other hand, demonstrations, contacts with the local press and officials were deemed to be less acceptable channels. Dearlove divides groups into two categories - helpful groups making acceptable demands in a proper way, and unhelpful groups making unacceptable demands in a style regarded as improper. The author admits that this is a static scenario insofar as groups change as, occasionally, do councillors'

assessments of them. He argues that there is a tendency for the demands and tactics of groups, particularly those that are regarded as unhelpful, to alter under pressure.

As far as *unhelpful* groups are concerned, being denied access through local councillors they use more visible tactics such as petitioning. Their supporters and leaders may also prefer such tactics. Such groups are often deficient in resources and unable to attain their objectives without major council assistance and this means that they are dependent on the council in order to satisfy the aspirations of their members. A noisy demand style may alienate councillors and make positive outcomes unlikely. In the absence of success, such groups may collapse, or steer their demands away from controversial political issues to ones over which councillors' attitudes are less fixed and they have a greater chance of success.

Dearlove then turns his attention to *helpful* groups who make acceptable demands and do not need to rely on pressure tactics. Given that they have close and constant communications with the council they are assured of effective access through a quiet style of demand-making. They are conscious of their good reputation with the council and are unwilling to jeopardise it by making demands which might be resented by councillors.

Dearlove claims that in the London Borough he studied councillors will receive *either* unacceptable demands from unhelpful groups (which they will reject automatically) *or* perfectly acceptable demands from groups which are trusted. These will generally be treated favourably. The author believes that councillors use 'rules of thumb' to simplify the choices they have to make when faced by the demands of interest groups. The attitudes of these councillors not only determine outcomes but also influence styles of demand-making. When and how their intervention occurs (as well as that of officials) are questions which are to be investigated in this study.

The effect of councillors' attitudes is pursued further by Glassberg (1981) in yet another London study. He also examined councillors' attitudes towards local interest groups, with particular reference to residents' and tenants' associations. Councillors in the South London borough studied differed greatly in their evaluation of

neighbourhood groups. More traditionally minded councillors saw them as 'unnecessary, irrelevant and illegitimate'. Furthermore such groups got a 'cold and formalistic' response unless they were well known and supportive to the councillors concerned. Other councillors, some of whom had started their political careers in such groups, were sympathetic towards organised groups in their wards. Many Labour Party councillors were actively involved in promoting groups especially on council estates. In some cases councillors were wary of groups especially some residents' associations which were influential enough to 'bypass' them.

Glassberg's research is based on interviews with councillors about their attitudes to groups and their demands, and not on how they *acted* in specific cases. However, it does alert us to the fact that councillor styles differ greatly as do their perceptions of the relative legitimacy they accord to local groups as a whole or individually.

(viii) Factors explaining the distribution of local government services

The urban services literature has been reviewed elsewhere by the author with particular reference to British and North American cities (Burnett, 1981). Inter-authority studies of the distribution of public provision are being increasingly augmented by inter-neighbourhood research. Explanations for inequality are sought in the background characteristics of neighbourhoods, as well as electoral and bureaucratic processes (the rules and professional standards which govern routine service allocations) (Levy, Meltsner and Wildavsky, 1974; Lineberry, 1977; Mladenka, 1980; Nivola, 1978; Boyle and Jacobs, 1982; Adrian, 1983). One of the major conclusions of this research is that both individual contacting and neighbourhood demand-making play but a minor role in the overall allocation of services although they may influence specific decisions. Demands are either not directed at the officials who make everyday decisions affecting service distributions *or* they conflict with criteria which do determine outputs. For example, Mladenka found that only in the case of the distribution of parks were demands and protests important in changing what had previously been an unequal pattern of provision. Nivola's conclusion was that it made little or no difference whether housing complaints

were channelled through neighbourhood organisations or not. The quality of response depended on the discretion of individual housing inspectors. Levy and colleagues found that road engineers were generally unsympathetic to citizen demands, although they would occasionally stop a project or change the route of a road if substantial public opposition was expressed by those affected. They believed that they possessed a wider view of the costs and benefits of road schemes than the public 'so that even if immediate residents might suffer, many other people would benefit' (p.129). The city council concerned was however responsive to demands which employed arguments showing that money could be saved, and overall a quarter of the road projects were influenced by 'political' factors which included pressure by local residents. Also in Oakland the proposed closure of selected branch libraries was prevented by public pressure, but the routine expenditure on books, buildings, and staff remained unaffected.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that *overall* municipal services are rarely allocated in direct response to demands made by neighbourhood groups, at least for the services, and in the cities studied. It should be anticipated therefore that unless demands coincide with professional/technical criteria which determine much of urban public service provision they will be unlikely to succeed.

(ix) Conclusion

The studies outlined here represent a varied not to say diffuse body of empirical work. They explore different dimensions of local political life in a range of diverse political and geographical settings. As a whole they represent an unbalanced coverage of the key themes being investigated in this study - the issues which are (and are not) the subject of local political demand-making; social/spatial variations in different modes of political involvement; the role of councillors and officials; outcomes; and the functions of participation and consultation. There is no one study which in scope sets out exact precedent for the work undertaken in Portsmouth. Davidson's study of political partnerships in Ann Arbor comes as close as any to it, for he investigated both the issues and spatial patterning of public influence attempts as well as the role of councillors in assisting them in attaining their ends. One notable difference is the fact in this American study there was little or no

reference to the part played by officials in the process of public consultation. Likewise, Cornelius' study of the basic service issues which generated demands by neighbourhood associations in Mexico City. This research which also examined the tactics and tangible improvements which were achieved covers some of the same ground. There is however no one British study which has systematically examined all or even most of the patterns and processes to be investigated in Portsmouth. The findings of Peake's recent research in Reading are of interest insofar as she sheds light both on attitudes towards a wide range of protest activities, and the actual record of involvement.

It is thus clear that there is no study which analyses the whole gamut of participation and both the causes and consequences of demand-making, i.e. replicates the present one in terms of scope and content. There is however no shortage of studies, for example, the issues generating localised mobilization, the links between neighbourhood groups and city councils, and the factors which supposedly cause some demands to fail (or be totally ignored) or alternatively be accorded a favourable outcome. On the other hand, the functions of participation in whatever form it takes have in these case studies only been referred to obliquely. There remains the taks of highlighting the main characteristics and findings of different types of research for the Portsmouth case study. Cumulatively and individually the studies indicate certain patterns and processes which were used in building model and framing hypothesis.

In terms of *issues and demands* the Canadian studies of locational conflict indicate that changes in land-use and the location of facilities are the source of many disputes involving, amongst others, groups of residents. The actual types of issues and the intensity of conflict surrounding them will vary across the city. Threats to the environment in the form of siting of unwanted noxious facilities will, it has been suggested by several studies, loom large on the agendas of neighbourhood associations and protest groups and give rise to protest action. Studies of neighbourhood associations (Cornelius) and local environmental groups (Lowe) show that the quality of public services are important enough for many urban residents to generate political activity between elections.

However, Cox and others have reminded us that the mere presence of such environmental/amenity issues does not necessarily lead to political activism. Variables such as high socio-economic status, and the presence of children were important in explaining political mobilization. Similarly Boaden found in Liverpool that community councils were selective in the issues they tackled. Meanwhile Cornelius' study also demonstrates that even the woeful inadequacies of the public service infrastructure did not guarantee political action. Demands were only made when the authorities were seen as worthy and appropriate targets for action. In Reading respondents did perceive environmental and public service issues as important but they also had definite views about which types of protest they were prepared to be involved in. Studies of individual contacting confirmed that both need and awareness were crucial twin correlates of particularised political participation. In contrast, studies of contacting in socialist cities (notably by Oliver in Moscow) clearly demonstrate the fact that while the activities or lack of them by the city council were the stimulus for feverish complaining, the actual requests made were highly specific and not directed at those policies which in the broadest sense laid the foundation for the problems which confronted citizens in their daily lives. The 'acceptability' of demand issues to those in authority has also been stressed by Dearlove.

The studies which provide insights into social and spatial regularities in political activity comprise a smaller but more cohesive body of material. First, according to Canadian studies, the intensity of locational conflicts will vary within any city. The inner city's changing environment generated arguments over land-use but so too did the environmental values of high income, white collar groups in other areas of the city. The finding that relatively affluent, well educated people in suburban areas were more involved in collective activity than elsewhere has been well established. However, Davidson in Ann Arbor found that while this was true of voting turnout it did not hold good for attempts to exert pressure on the city council. Similarly, American studies have found that variation in levels of contacting were not solely a factor of the socio-economic status of neighbourhoods. Taken as a whole the overriding message that these empirical studies suggest is that (1) there are several related background factors which give some people the motivation, skill and confidence to get involved

politically; and (2) the pattern of participation between different neighbourhoods in any city will be uneven, with the actual spatial distribution depending on what *sort* of political activity is being studied.

On the basis of these findings patterns of voting, contacting, protesting and joining/forming neighbourhood organisations should be varied in a city like Portsmouth. Although the evidence is somewhat fragmentary, it appears that locational factors influence the calculations which people make when considering whether or not to take political action. Research by Clary and Goodman, for example, into the political response to proposed or existing noxious facilities has shown that it is the near neighbours of these environmental threats who regardless of their backgrounds are likely to protest.

The findings of studies outlined above are less conclusive when it comes to the theme of the role of councillors and officers in moulding, and responding to, processes of demand-making. In Vancouver officials and the city council were both allies and opponents of neighbourhood groups. Cornelius found that meetings were sought with both senior officials and local politicans who tended to respond in a highly individualistic way to petitions from low income neighbourhoods. Davidson explains the key role of councillors in both private and public attempts to influence the city council. Protestors who established a close working relationship (which the author calls political partnerships) with their councillors, were found to be more likely to prevail in their campaigns. Dearlove has also stressed the importance of councillors perceptions and attitudes in the role that local pressure groups play, the demands they make and the tactics they employ. In contrast, Peake discovered that there was a distinct lack of confidence in the ability of local councillors to get things done on their behalf amongst the residents she interviewed. That this view is not misplaced is borne out by the findings of Dunleavy in the east end of London. Labour Party councillors in Newham refused to ally themselves to the cause of their working class constituents who resented having to move into high rise blocks of flats. The role of *officials* in responding to the individual contacts has been emphasised by those who have studied citizen initiated contacting while Cousins found that contacts between tenants' associations and officers were

highly valued and that it was chief officers who set the tone of consultation between them.

Glassberg found in a study of councillors that while some 'parochials' were sympathetic towards local groups, senior elected members who tended to adopt borough-wide stances were much less convinced as to the legitimacy of neighbourhood organisations.

There is a measure of agreement amongst those who have studied the links between those in authority and local pressure groups in a wide range of settings that this relationship is crucial in understanding the success or otherwise of demand-making. Schumaker and Billeaux found that officials deemed some groups as making demands that were more 'community-regarding'. Dearlove that the party affiliations, ideology and policy preferences of councillors affected their response to demands made upon them. Unacceptable demands from unhelpful groups were rejected regardless of their merits whereas the acceptable demands of 'trusted' groups would generally be accepted.

The literature on urban service provision has revealed that there are factors other than political demands which influence decision-making whether it be concerned with the broad researce allocations or specific locational issues. Bureaucratic rules and professional standards set the parameters for policies involving public services. The built environment was almost immune from changes demanded by groups because of the physical impossibility of moving parks and the prohibitive expense incurred in providing extra facilities or a higher standard of services. Davidson's observation that ecological constraints (there were suitable buildings and sites available in some areas and not others) operated in locating treatment centres for deviant groups also suggests that community opposition in such cases is unlikely in itself to be successful.

The evidence on the question of how far the socio-economic status of the people/area making demands will influence the outcomes is conflicting. Lowe 'assumes' that well-heeled, well-educated and well-connected areas win. Cornelius' study showed that the poor in certain instances won at least some of their campaigns, whereas in Newham protests over re-housing failed. The quality of response to individual contacting from better off neighbourhoods was not

significantly better than others and black neighbourhoods were not discriminated against when it came to responding to complaints. In Detroit areas of median social wellbeing which generated a high volume of complaints did not get a speedier response because organisations became overloaded.

Thus the evidence in the search for an explanation of the differential response to collective and individual demand-making is far from conclusive. It is clear, however, that in at least some cases a favourable outcome *is* attained by individual citizens and the groups representing them. In Oakland, road schemes were altered and the closure of libraries prevented by protests, while in Mexico City basic service infra structure and legal tenure was forthcoming as a result of petitioning by neighbourhood associations. In Ann Arbor all types of neighbourhood were successful on some occasions. Meanwhile in Britain, whereas in London the protests of East Enders failed miserably when confronted by the combined interests of the council and construction industry, in Liverpool community councils (despite what many people thought) were consulted on issues and their views treated seriously. Perhaps the final word should rest with Ley and Mercer who, while finding that citizen groups were sometimes successful in opposing *and* proposing developments, caution against the notion of winners and losers. They warn that compromises and postponements, and the distinction between short term and long term gains makes analysis of outcomes difficult. Conceptual and methodological problems clearly have to be overcome in studying the degree of success attained in demand-making and the explanatory factors involved.

As far as functions served by political participation are concerned the assumption made by the majority of researchers is that in a variety of ways and with differing degrees of success the views and needs of urban populace are brought to the attention of those in authority and pressure is exerted upon them. Whether minds are changed, plans altered or existing practices reviewed depends on the circumstances. Political activism may be motivated by a variety of factors but from the public's point of view influencing the decisions and policies that councils and their committees make is surely an important one. Some evidence has been presented which shows that some local authorities, Ann Arbor, went out of their way to consult the

public and established imaginative institutions to facilitate such involvement. Nonetheless although there is scant direct evidence available it can be intimated from some studies that participation may serve other ends. For example, Oliver cogently argues that complaints are used by Soviet authorities to keep themselves informed about any inadequacies and inefficiencies of their local adminstration. Dunleavy makes it clear that protests over re-housing served to neutralise the opposition of local residents while the council implemented its plans.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

In the first chapter five themes which comprise the foci of the study were introduced. The research concentrates on issues (and contents of demands), spatial variations in different modes of participation, the role of officers and councillors, an explanation of outcomes, and lastly the functions of participation and consultation. It was also stressed that these topics are interrelated. For example, intensity of issues may be linked to patterns, and one of the factors significantly affecting outcomes is how demands are perceived and evaluated by councillors and officials. For the purposes of model-building, and for hypothesis formulation and testing, however, these themes will be treated as analytically separate. The key independent and dependent variables and the causal links between them have been derived deductively from the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter II as well as inductively from the findings of previous research reviewed in Chapter III.

The purpose of modelling the levels of political involvement in different types of neighbourhood, the demand characteristics affecting outcomes, and the functions of participation from the perspectives of officials, councillors and the public is to highlight the significant aspects of the causes and consequences of local participation. They should help to direct inquiry and research by referring to links between elements which can be observed, measured and verified. The hypotheses set within these models are of course narrower and more specific and should be able to be confirmed or refuted on the basis of the data collected and analysed.

In the latter part of the chapter the data sources for the respective chapters are described and some of the problems encountered and overcome in data collection are noted. Finally, methods of data analysis are briefly noted, and the study area - the City of Portsmouth - is introduced.

(i) Models and hypotheses

(a) Issues

As outlined in Chapter I the sort of issues which generate, and are the subject of, local collective demand-making are often concerned

with the *amenity* of residential areas. While it is possible to classify specific components of amenity into, for example, accessibility to desirable facilities and distance from noxious ones, good quality and quantity of public services, a clean, safe and socially acceptable environment, the essence of the concept relates to the quality of the local residential milieux. Robson (1982) has summarised links between environmental and political mobilization as follows:

> 'The local residential environment provides the most common locus of conflict within the city not simply because residential areas comprise the largest single land-use, but because of the strong commitment that people have to the immediate area in which they live, a commitment which is reinforced in the case of the owner occupier by a very direct financial vested interest.... What is being defended is both a current and a future interest since, in resisting what is seen as undesirable change, a household both tries to preserve or enhance its currently acceptable living environment - its use value - and simulteneously attempts to safeguard the future value of that environment with a view not only to its own enjoyment of it but also to that of future households who might buy an interest in the area - its exchange value'.
>
> (p.45)

Certainly one can point to the importance of such vested interests in the immediate residential environment. What prompts residential conflict is almost invariably a concern with minimizing the negative externalities which are represented by the real or perceived threats of land-use or social changes in an area and with maximizing the converse positive externalities. We can think of three general categories into which such externalities might fall. The physical environment includes such positive elements as parks and open spaces as well as such negative ones as heavy road traffic, air pollution or noise. The resource environment includes the benefits of good schools, and proximity to shops, and welfare and recreational facilities. The social environment is less readily specified but nonetheless important since like minded neighbours help to ensure that life styles are compatible and there is common ground for social interaction and collective political activity.

These then are the issues which, it is anticipated, will form the basis of demands by neighbourhood organisations, and protest groups and individuals in relation to plans, proposals, and decisions of the

council, or alternatively what is perceived as neglect by the authorities. Institutional and informal channels it is anticipated will be used to make demands in relation to land-use, the location of facilities, public service delivery, and anti-social behaviour.

As far as the content of demands made is concerned the public collectively and individually will request and pressurize the authorities to (1) refuse to modify land-use proposals which are seen to harm amenity and preserve existing land-uses which are beneficial; (2) press for the removal of existing 'noxious' facilities and oppose the siting of any new ones nearby (alternative locations may, under certain circumstances, be suggested); (3) urge that new desirable facilities should be provided, and existing ones not closed and converted into other uses; (4) demand that the quantity and quality of service provision should be maintained or enhanced, and (5) request that the laws regulating street behaviour should be enforced and miscreants apprehended. It is envisaged that the public will not be satisfied merely to demand that something be done or not done but will in most cases make specific recommendations in relation to proposals, plans and decisions.

The contents of demand-making will not, however, include the broader long-term *policies* behind these more immediate, short-term decisions. There are theoretical and empirical reasons for suggesting that the scope of demand-making will be limited in this way. Thus while some land use and other plans will be subject to public consultation, budgets and the allocation of capital and revenue expenditure between departments, byelaws and enforcement policies, and strategies for centralizing service provision in fewer large facilities and closing facilities for economy reasons will rarely be the subject of demand-making.

It is hypothesized therefore that *most issues which are the subject of demands will be concerned with the amenity of residential areas* and *will include decisions and proposals which are threatening or causing negative impacts. The number and sort of issues that generate demands will differ between different types of neighbourhoods. Major allocative policies and plans which provide the framework for such short term, localised issues will rarely constitute the subject of demand-making or be put on the agenda for consultation.*

(b) Patterns of participation

The literature on political participation cited in the previous chapter indicates that socio-spatial variations in levels of different modes of political activism is a feature of urban life. In the first place environmental changes, whether introduced by public authorities or not, occur with varying degrees of intensity and duration in different sorts of ecological zones of the city. The locational conflict literature has portrayed an uneven pattern of land-use and facility issues with which neighbourhood mobilization was associated. In contrast numerous studies have associated political participation especially collective activity with socio-economic status and a host of related areal or individual background characteristics. Although empirical research has varied considerably in approach and method its findings generally confirm that those with professional or managerial occupations, high educational attainment, who own their own homes participate more than less educated, manual or unskilled households who live in rented accommodation. Finally there is also evidence that participation occurs when and where authorities visibly and actively encourage it so to do.

These three strands in the explanation of patterns of participation are incorporated in the model in Fig. 4.1. It is anticipated that contrasted types of neighbourhoods will be characterised by varying levels of political activity. The volume of activity with respect to particular modes of participation will likewise differ. Middle class, owner/occupied areas, wherever located, will show greater political activity because residents have the skill, confidence, knowledge and sense of public duty as well as the time and, municipal contacts, to get involved. Conversely those in inner city and peripheral, predominantly public sector housing areas will participate at lower rates both at and between elections. A model incorporating a comprehensive list of both neighbourhood types and modes of participation may help in illustrating likely patterns.

Whilst broad patterns of political involvement may be thus modelled, different factors may operate in the processes operating in the specific locational issues outlined in the previous chapter. In this case there is theoretical and case study evidence to suggest that salience and distance are crucial interlinked elements in

Type of Area	Registration	Turnout	Voting for Conservative Party	Individual Contacting	Membership of Political Parties & Pressure Gps.	Protest Groups	Objecting to Planning Applications & Appeals	Legal Action	Office holders	Objecting to draft traffic regulation orders	Petitioning	Neighbourhood associations including G.I.A. Committees
Inner city, transient, multiple occupied, high density.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Inner city, high density, council, manual owned.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Inner city, 'historic', professional/ managerial.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Inner city/suburbs, terraced, skilled and semi-skilled, manual, owner/occupied.	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
Post-war, peripheral, council estates.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
Outer suburbs, owner/ occupied, professional/ managerial, low density	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+

Key: + = high, − = low

Figure 4.1 Likely levels of political involvement (by neighbourhood type) for different modes of participation

accounting for the micro geography of such activities as contacting, protesting, signing petitions, and objecting to planning applications or traffic regulations. Households who live nearby and perceive themselves as directly affected by proposals are more likely to be willing if not able to get involved than those who live further away. The interests of the latter group may be more marginally impacted. (Of course, home owners and others are still more likely to be active politically in the face of some neighbourhood threat, and not everyone in close proximity will be inclined or able to do so). In Fig. 1.1 a number of behavioural factors (pre-requisites) were noted which may determine whether or not an individual actually gets politically involved.

It is hypothesized that there will be variation in the volume and level of participation between wards and neighbourhoods in the city. Thus electoral participation will be higher in the suburbs. and lower in the inner city, the position in relation to demand-making between elections will be similar. The key factors determining areal variations in patterns of different modes of participation will be occupational status, housing tenure, residential location, environmental stability or change and institutional opportunities.

(c) Officers and councillors

The functions of participation as perceived by officers and councillors is discussed below and indicated on Fig. 4.2. But first there are several questions to be raised about the role of these two groups, in relation to demand-making. For example, are officers 'on tap or on top'? *Who* formulates, decides and implements the changing procedures of institutional channels of consultation. For example who interprets central government guidelines in the light of local (Portsmouth) circumstances? At what *level* in the bureaucratic hierarchy of different departments of the city council is the process of public consultation conducted? Are certain sorts of issues and demands dealt with by officials of particular rank? Finally, is it officers or councillors, or both, who decide on the response to demands from the public and what happens when the two groups disagree?

Benyon (1982) pinpoints the crux of the matter as follows:

> 'It is sometimes argued that a fundamental tenet of our local government system is that councillors make decisions on the advice of officers which the latter then implement. However, a number of studies have produced evidence which shows that representative local democracy does not operate as the popular model suggests it should. An alternative view which has been called the 'technocratic model' emphasises the role of the expert in local government. Within this model the professional officers assume a position of pre-eminence while councillors serve as channels from their wards and as a means of legitimizing the 'technocrats' decisions.... Some councillors, for example, appear to be deferential towards their officers whom they view as skilled experts giving objective and impartial advice and this may mean that they are reluctant to question recommendations which the officers make'.
>
> (p.53)

In relation to the planning, educational, housing and other service issues considered in this case study we would expect officers to play a major role in setting the parameters of participation and both groups to settle issues which are the subject of demands by the public.

It is hypothesized that it is officers who will be the target of the majority of neighbourhood demands. Councillors will be involved in adjudicating between conflicting demands from the public and between the public and officers. It is hypothesized that the recommendations of officers to councillors in relation to demands from the public will generally be accepted and that it is officers who play a dominant role in demanding that the public shall be consulted, when and to what effect.

(d) Outcomes

There are theoretical reasons for anticipating that all demands will *not* be responded to in the same way or have identical outcomes. Research has shown that some will be merely accorded access and be put on the agenda (a symbolic response), while others will actually alter or influence decision-making and have a tangible impact (a substantive outcome). Outcomes can be placed on a continuum from complete success in obtaining what was demanded through to utter failure. The righthand columns in Fig. 4.2 illustrate the range of potential outcomes. Notwithstanding the difficulties of obtaining data on outcomes and interpreting it sensitively it is likely that most if not all demands will be accorded at least a token response. A fewer number

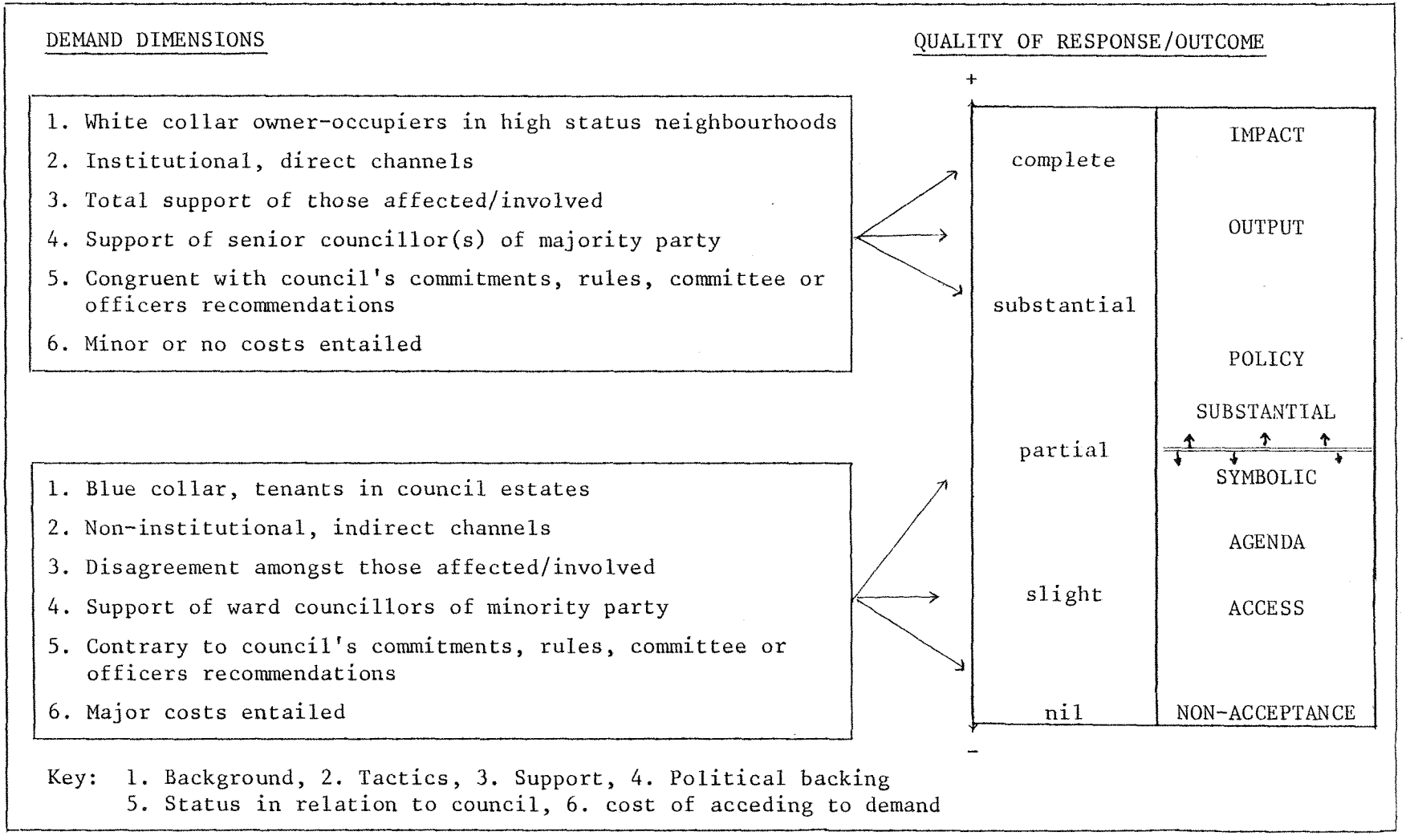

Figure 4.2 Explanatory model of demand responses/outcomes

are likely to be seen as totally successful by those making them. In Ley and Mercer's study, for example, neighbourhood groups were victorious in two out of three conflicts (Ley and Mercer, 1980). In the left hand section of Fig. 4.2 a series of variables which have been empirically shown significantly influence the outcomes of demand-making are noted. The sort of neighbourhood demand-makers live in, their tactics, level of support, timing, status; the attitudes of relevant officials and councillors; and cost constraints of acceding to demands are, it is postulated, key factors making for success (in the upper half of the diagram) and against it (in the lower half).

It is hypothesized that *all demands will be accorded a token response but only a minority will be largely or wholly successful. Those demands which are tangibly successful will be those which are from middle-class areas, use direct institutional channels, have sizeable support and little or no opposition from amongst those affected, have the support of senior councillors from the majority party on the city council, involve minor costs, or are in accordance with official plans, priorities and decision-making rules. Conversely, demands which are from working-class areas, employ indirect, non institutional channels and 'strident' tactics, where conflict arises between members of the public involved, are contrary to stated official commitments and procedure, or are opposed by influential councillors (having only the support of minority party elected representatives) will fail to have any substantial impact.*

(e) Functions

An instrumental view of political participation suggests that most of the public, for most of the time, will make demands to obtain tangible benefits for themselves, their families and neighbours. On some occasions they will be content merely to raise an issue, find out more about it and request that something be done. More commonly however demands will be made with the object of influencing a specific decision or proposal. The purpose of demand-making is to persuade and pressurize those in authority to make decisions which they would not otherwise have made. From the point of view of councillors and officers political participation and especially institutional consultation of the sort to be found in general improvement areas, with council tenants and over traffic management schemes in Portsmouth may serve other

COUNCILLORS
Be seen to be accessible
Opportunity to build support
Ensure proposals are acceptable
Early warning system for potentially 'damaging' issues

OFFICIALS
Aid compliance to policies
Neutralise dissent
Find out likely consequences of alternative courses of action
Inform public about constraints
Ensure proposals are acceptable
Legitimate decisions already taken
Show support for increased departmental domains

PUBLIC
Get issues onto agenda
Obtain information
Get experience of local government system
Influence policies, plans and decisions

Figure 4.3 The functions of participation

purposes. There are certainly theoretical grounds for suggesting that participation is multi-functional. From the viewpoint of an observer wearing Marxist spectacles, for example, much of what passes for participation is designed or has the effect of directing attention from more deep seated structural inequalities and legitimating a political system which pursues the status quo. Furthermore when locational conflicts between capital and labour arise it is argued that it is the former's interest which will prevail.

The main dimensions of the functions performed by local demand-making and consultation as seen by different participants are outlined in Fig. 4.3. The perspectives of those in authority and the public are not always incompatible and indeed reciprocal benefits may be derived by all parties regardless of the perceptions of the actors involved.

It is hypothesized that the public will endeavour to influence decision-making by highlighting issues which concern them and pressing

representatives of the city council to act in ways of which they approve. Councillors will attempt to use demand-making and consultation to build support; officers to try to ensure that their proposals are acceptable.

Reference will be made to this set of hypotheses at the end of each empirical section in Part Two of the study. Their validity as a whole will be reviewed in the concluding chapter.

(ii) Data sources and analysis

For this case study of participation in Portsmouth a wide range of sources was used from which data was obtained. Over reliance on any one source was deliberately avoided. Thus the 1981 census returns; agendas and minutes (also appendices) of council committees; a questionnaire survey; semi-confidential files in relevant city departments, and the area education office of the county council; interviews with municipal officials, and councillors, officers of neighbourhood organisations, and leaders of protest groups; participant observation; correspondence with the City Secretary and Solicitor, were all used. A judicious mix of official and less formal sources helped to build up a comprehensive and balanced picture of political participation and demand-making over the study period. Of course, for a study of this sort every source has its advantages and disadvantages. The local newspaper - *The Portsmouth Evening News* - may give a full picture of some of the more controversial locational conflicts and municipal decisions, while many 'lesser' issues are barely reported at all. The minutes of meetings of official bodies are often highly abbreviated, and represent bland summaries of what was said and decided. The potential drawbacks of relying on surveys, however ably the samples are chosen and questions phrased, are well known. Interviews with participants can often be used by those concerned to rationalize and justify their decisions and actions rather than really explain what happened and why. Attending meetings in person and belonging to organisations is a time consuming task and one which may tend to furnish data which is not entirely objective.

Thus the strategy employed was to use multiple sources and wherever possible to cross check the data obtained. Some discrepancies were readily apparent as, for example, the variation between reported

and actual turnout at local elections. Wherever possible primary sources were used. Thus in analysing objections to traffic regulation orders and planning applications reliance was not merely placed on the summaries of objections as prepared by officials but actual letters lodged in the files were scrutinised. Also when decisions and actions were explained publicly in the press, these statements were not necessarily taken at face value. They were, when feasible, compared to oral contributions to meetings, in correspondence, and interviews with those concerned.

Naturally shortage of time and the need for confidentiality prevented some data sources from being fully utilized. Thus only a few meetings of G.I.A. residents' committees were attended; the columns of the local newspaper were scrutinized for only a two-year period (1976-78); many petitions had long since been submitted and lost from public sight; not unexpectedly some councillors declined to reply to letters, and some householders refused to answer any questions. Generally, however, after a careful explanation of the purpose and scope of the study those in authority and members of the public were co-operative. Indeed some officials and residents were surprised and gratified that a researcher from the local polytechnic and working under the the auspices of Southampton University deemed it worthwhile to make an academic study of their particular professional or public activities. Not a few have expressed an interest in seeing the results.

The actual sources of specific statistics and statements relating to different topics are generally cited in the text of the relevant chapters (V to X). A broad summary of sources however is provided in Fig. 4.4. All the maps, which are based on original sources, have been drawn specifically for this study and have not been previously reproduced unless otherwise indicated.

The primary sampling unit of the Southsea survey (Chapter VI) comprised *sub-areas* (in six instances a single street, in three cases two roads and in one two blocks of council flats). The ten sub-areas were chosen to be representative of the varied nature of Southsea's built environment. The target population was *any* member of the household (i.e. who ever happened to answer the door or volunteered to complete the questionnaire). The sampling frame used was the six inch map which

Modes of participation (Chapter V). Records of, and interviews with electoral registration officer; records of Portsmouth Society, the Portsmouth Labour Party, CND; correspondence with City Secretary and Solicitor; files of planning applications; minutes of city council and its committees.

Reported participation and demand-making (Chapter VI). Completed questionnaires from Southsea survey.

G.I.A. residents' committees and environmental improvements (Chapter VII). Files of individual G.I.A.s in Planning Department; minutes of planning committee and G.I.A. working party; discussions with planning officers, attendance at G.I.A. residents' committee meetings.

The joint consultative body and consultation with tenants (Chapter VIII). Minutes and agendas of J.C.B. and housing committee; local press; interviews and written communication with secretaries of tenants' associations.

Consultation over 6th form provision (Chapter IX). Interviews with senior area education officers; participation at area advisory committee meetings; local press; attendance at public meetings; scrutiny of responses to official consultation exercise.

Consultation over Traffic Regulation Orders (Chapter X). Files of traffic regulation orders in City Engineer's department; local press (public notices and news reports); interviews with traffic engineers.

Figure 4.4 Data sources

gives the numbers of individual houses in residential streets (the number of flats in the blocks surveyed was previously known). The aim was to obtain a sample of twenty householders in each sub-area and individual respondents were chosen for their occupation of every 'Nth' property on the map. Each dwelling was, when necessary, called on twice - the second occasions at the weekend - and absence or a refusal counted as a non-response. Non-response substitutes were not taken. Thus a total sample of 174 was achieved giving a response rate of 87 per cent.

The questionnaire was prepared by the author after having been tested in a pilot exercise. Several questions which were found to be ambiguous or thought to be 'biased' were altered or omitted. Notwithstanding the attractions of a postal survey - including ease and economy - the questionnaires were personally delivered. They were collected a few

days later at a time convenient to respondents.

The questionnaire comprised six sections - (1) background characteristics of householder and household; (2) local information sources - readership of the local newspaper, etc.; (3) modes of participation that respondents had been involved in during recent years; (4)(only applicable to three respondents who had been politically involved) the behavioural process involved - issues, tactics, outcomes; (5) the extent of electoral and non-electoral political participation; (6) alternative courses of action in relation to local problems; (7) issues which were not susceptible to local political action; (8) general comments about neighbourhood; and (9) attitudes towards the involvement in local public affairs. The questions were designed to elicit a detailed record of respondents' background and their actual political involvement/non-involvement. It also probed the decision-making the process behind their participation (Appendix C).

A final point should be stressed relating to the size of the sample. Clearly a sample of only 174 from the southern part of the city means that any conclusions from this part of the study must be cautious. As Hampton (1970) says, 'any analysis of the replies result in sub-samples too small to give more than a hint of probabilities' (p.143). However, it should be borne in mind that the major purpose of the survey was to delve into behavioural processes behind political activism rather than measure the extent of different modes of participation for the city. Many questions in the latter sections of the questionnaire were very fully answered and some written comments are reproduced in the text to give the flavour of respondents' experiences and views.

Statistical analysis in the study comprises tests to compare two sets of data to establish whether there exists a mathematical relationship between them. Of course even if there is a degree of association between two sets of variables (indicated by a positive correlation co-efficient) this does not imply there is a causal relationship between them. Kendall's r (tau) is a suitable method of calculating correlation co-efficients because of the small samples involved and the east of calculation. When the sample size greatly

exceeds 20 the calculation of s becomes laborious and mistakes may occur. Spearman's r_s is easier to calculate but 'there is some doubt about the significance table for r_s with sample sizes between 10 and 20. For this reason it is probably better to use r unless the sample size is in excess of 20' (McCullagh, 1974, p.90) . The formula for finding r is

$$r = \frac{s}{\frac{1}{2} N(N - 1)}$$

A perfect positive correlation (exact fit) when one variable increases in exact proportion to the other has a correlation co-efficient r = + 1.0. A perfect negative correlation (exact no fit) has a correlation co-efficient = - 1.0. When there is a very weak or no association the co-efficient will be near 0.

(iii) Study area

(a) The built environment

The spatial structure of Portsmouth is by no means typical of a British city. It developed from a medieval core in the south west corner of Portsea Island and expanded in a series of concentric rings to the north and west. In the 1830s the early walled settlement comprising what is now Old Portsmouth and Portsea, expanded to the east when Thomas Owen began the development of Southsea. During the period 1870 to 1910 the city grew rapidly with the expansion of the dockyard. Much of Southsea as well as such neighbourhoods as Fratton and Stamshaw were laid out in densely packed, terraced streets. In the inter-war period suburban expansion took place in the north east sector of Portsea Island and onto the mainland at Cosham. Semi-detached Drayton and Highbury are similar to such inter-war suburbs in many other British cities as are the slum clearance schemes which were initiated in the older inner city districts such as Landport. After the 2nd World War areas which had been bombed (such as regrettably the medieval High Street in Old Portsmouth) were rebuilt, and the city council mounted an ambitious programme of public sector house building both in Paulsgrove in the north west and beyond its municipal boundaries on land which it had bought in the urban district of Havant and Waterlooville, including the hugh Leigh Park estate. Later, like other

British authorities the city council was encouraged to build high rise blocks of flats with prefabricated building methods, mainly in Somerstown. The pattern of residential growth is illustrated in Fig. 4.5, which also shows the location of certain non-residential land uses. The central business district is located adjoining the Guildhall and new civic offices. The city has, however, a very decentralised pattern of five shopping centre, namely Commercial Road, Palmerston Road (Southsea), Fratton Road, North End and Cosham High Street. It also has a series of long and congested shopping roads epitomised by Albert Road in Southsea. There is comparatively little open space on Portsea Island apart from reclaimed land on the eastern seaboard and in the north west at Northharbour which is traversed by the M27 and M275. The former airport is currently being developed as an integrated housing and light industrial zone.

Thus the city in many ways resembles a northern English city with its small, brick 'Coronation Street' houses and congested streets. Southsea on the other hand, has many of the environmental attributes of 'Costa geriatrica' with its Georgian villas (many converted into rest homes), boarding houses, bedsitter belt, hotels and piers. The other major distinctive feature of the city's built environment is the relative absence of post-war suburban 'Wimpey' development and peripheral council housing estates. As already indicated this 'overspill' expension has taken place beyond its boundaries in the present Borough of Havant and to a lesser extent in Gosport and Fareham.

(b) Population

From a peak of over a quarter of a million in the 1930s Portsmouth's population, like that of other major British cities, has steadily declined. In 1961 it was 215,000 and by 1981 the census night resident population had decreased to 180,066. This represented a decrease of 35,000 in 20 years and a drop of nearly 9 per cent (17,365) in the 1971-81 decade. The age structure for the city is unbalanced with a higher proportion of the population (21 per cent) being persons of pensionable age than under 16 years of age (19 per cent). Only 7,469 households (11 per cent) had children under five years old. A large proportion of the 17,000 (25 per cent) households in which one person usually lived alone were elderly (12,756 + 75 years) and the number in this category had increased over the decade. Only 5 per cent

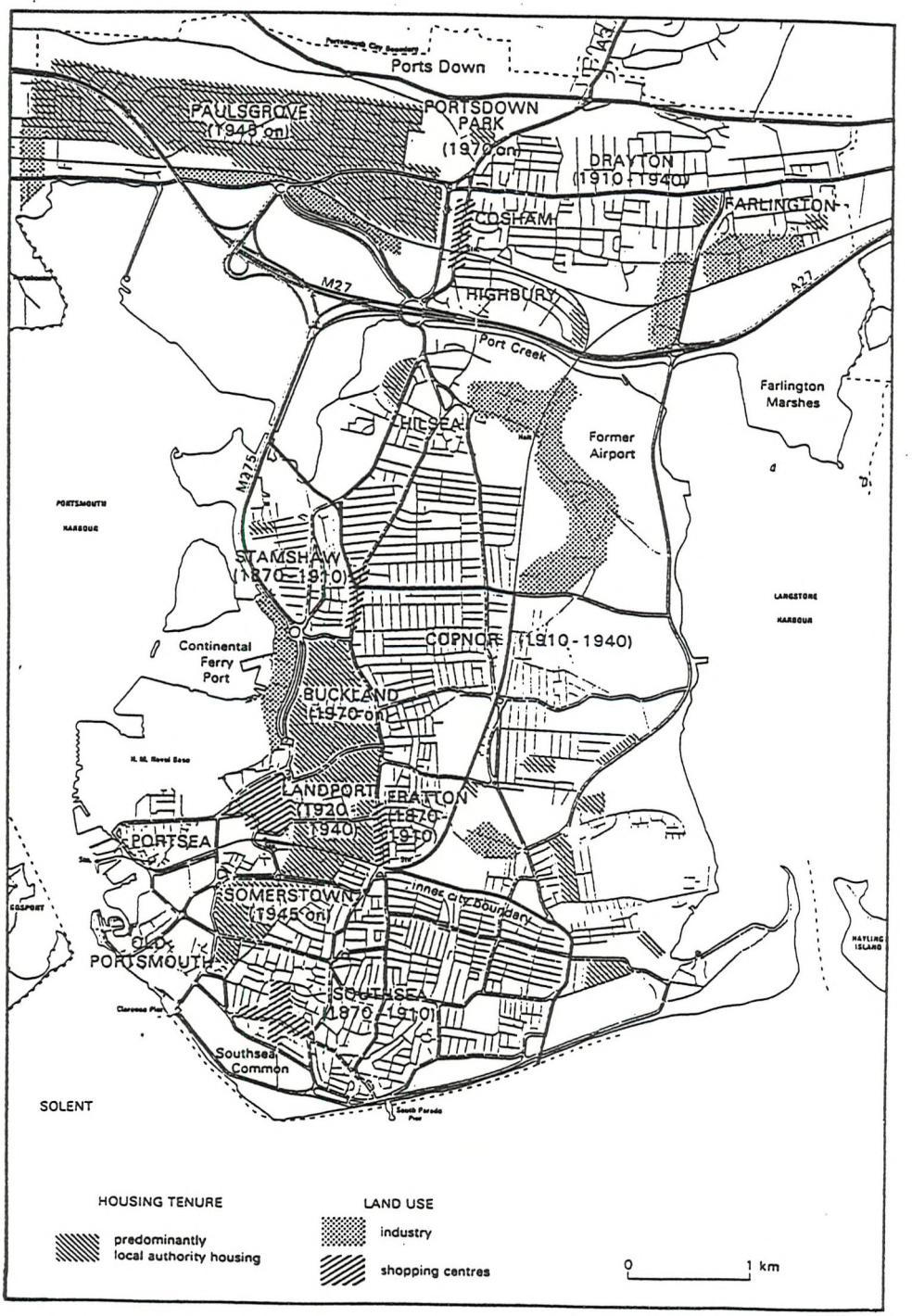

Figure 4.5 The environment of the City of Portsmouth

of the population at the 1981 census had been born outside the United Kingdom. In 1981 the overall population density of the city, though remaining high by British standards, had fallen to a figure of 45 persons per hectare.

Overall then the city's population during the study period was declining. Like other British conurbations young families were moving out to the surrounding suburban areas especially Havant, and the single elderly comprise an increasing proportion of the resident population. Younger families with children predominate in those western wards which are dominated public sector housing - namely Portsea (23.6 per cent) and Paulsgrove (24 per cent). By and large Southsea wards recorded the lowest proportions of children. Only two wards recorded a growth of population in the 1971-81 period - Cosham and Meredith, in both cases caused by new housing developments. Virtually all citizens from the new Commonwealth were resident in St. Jude's and St. Thomas wards in Southsea where most of the Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese restauranteurs and their families work and live. The City's Mosque and Sikh Temple are located nearby. Although it has a small recent immigrant population the City is nonetheless cosmopolitan in that in 1978 its population of Scottish, Irish and Welsh origin has been estimated at over 20,000 (Portsmouth Evening News, 9th January, 1978).

(c) Community perception

The built environment of the city and the growth of its neighbourhoods has already been noted. But what evidence is there that these or any other set of neighbourhoods are perceived as communities? Fortunately a study by Hall (1977) has shown certain of them have some meaning for their inhabitants. Hall surveyed a large sample of residents throughout the city and asked if there was an area around where they lived that they saw as a 'community area'. 43 per cent of the sample were able to express such an area and draw its boundaries. (In 90 per cent of cases the area was smaller than that of the electoral wards). Hall then proceeded to analyze their social composition, shape and physical boundaries. A number of different types of areas emerged as clearly identified neighbourhoods - new council estates (Portsdown Park, and Buckland); older municipal estates (Paulsgrove, West Somerstown); high status areas with distinctive environments and clear

cut boundaries (Old Portsmouth, Highbury); deprived inner city areas (Portsea) and older Victorian areas now being improved (Fratton and Stamshaw). These neighbourhoods were generally clearly bounded and possessed some degree of internal uniformity at least in their physical environment. On the other hand there were large tracts of the city which possessed no internal foci, and were not separated by features such as open or institutional space, or railways and major roads.

It has already been noted in Chapter III that physically bounded neighbourhoods may be the contest for enhanced localised political activity. Hall claims that certain types of clearly perceived 'community areas' would be suitable bases for neighbourhood councils. It remains to be seen if neighbourhood organisations and protest groups in the city have developed and been sustained in such areas, and if it is indeed desirable to establish a system of neighbourhood councils based upon them.

(d) Housing tenure

Portsmouth housing stock displays a variety which is characteristic of many British cities. Most people live in privately owned terraced and semi-detached houses. Public sector dwellings comprise mainly blocks of flats in Somerstown, Portsea, Landport and Portsdown Park and houses in Paulsgrove and Wymering. The contracting private rented sector is mainly to be found in St. Thomas and St. Jude wards in Southsea. Many of the more desirable council houses in the city and in overspill estates have been sold in recent years.

The pattern of housing tenure for the city is shown by old and new wards graphically on the maps in Figs. 4.6(a) and (b) (detailed statistics are to be found in Appendix A). Charles Dickens ward (comprising the former St. Mary Guildhall and Portsea wards) and Paulsgrove ward are dominated by public sector housing. St. Thomas is a mix of all three tenures, St. Jude of owner/occupiers and private tenants, and Cosham of owner/occupiers and council tenants. Otherwise owner/occupiers are in a large majority. Farlington has 87 per cent owner/occupiers compared to Charles Dickens 6 per cent; over three-quarters of households of wards such as Havelock, Fratton and Milton own or are buying their own houses, while only a quarter do so in Paulsgrove.

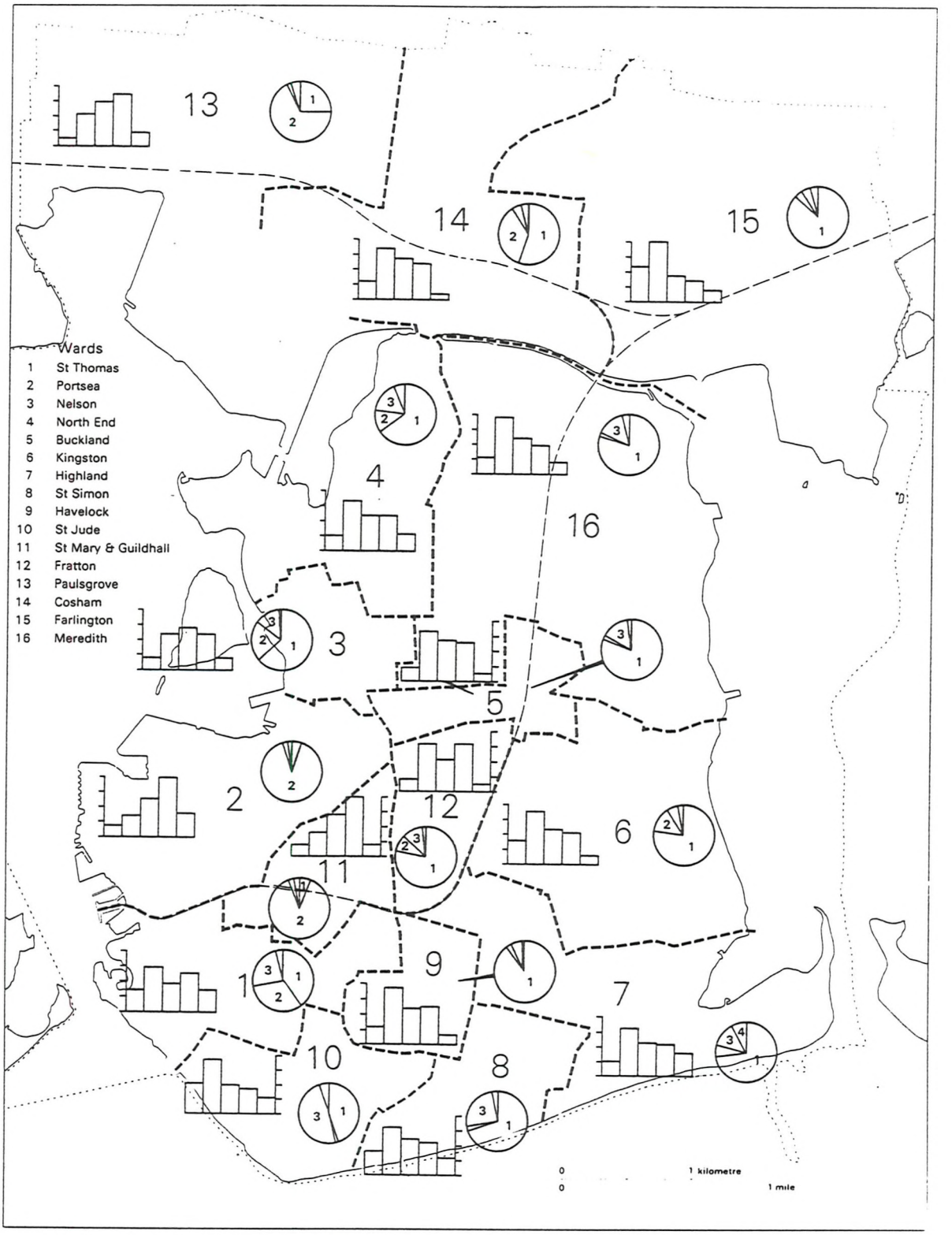

Figure 4.6(a) Occupational status and tenure for 16 wards

Source: City Planning Department

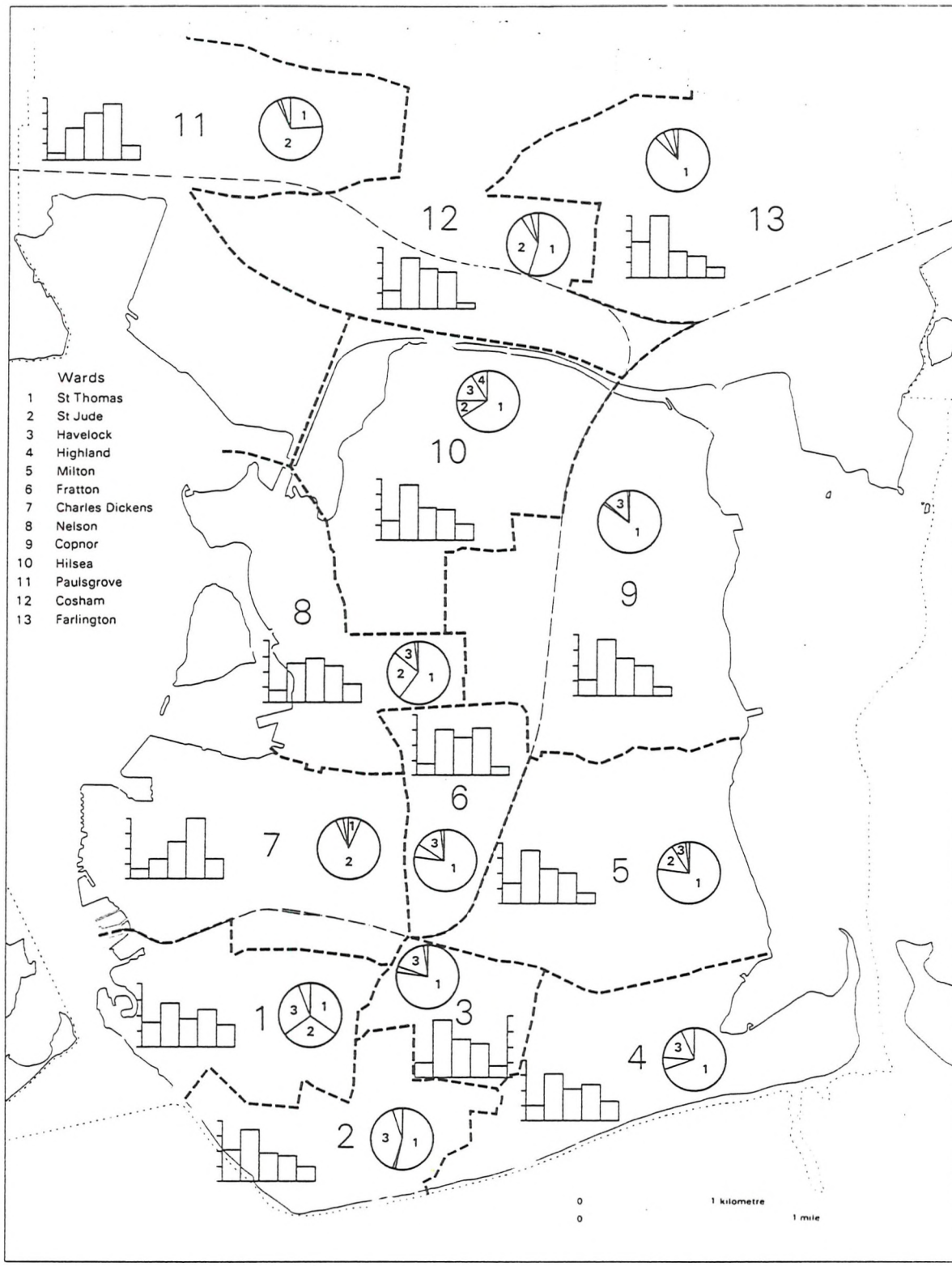

Figure 4.6(b) Occupational status and tenure for 13 wards

Source: City Planning Department

(e) Occupation/social class

The occupational structure based on the 1981 census of old and new wards in the city is also portrayed in Figs. 4.6(a) and (b) (Appendix A). The proportion of the professional and managerial occupations (S.E.G.'s 1 and 2) varies between wards, although many wards notably Cosham, St. Thomas (including high status Old Portsmouth as well as Somerstown) and St. Jude are internally heterogeneous. The highest proportion is to be found in Farlington/Drayton in the north east of the city and the lowest in Charles Dickens in the south west where the unemployment rate also reaches its highest level. In 1981 nearly all wards had at least a third of their population employed in manual occupations although variation as between skilled manual and semi skilled/unskilled as between wards is illustrated by the bar charts in Figs. 4.6(a) and (b). As already noted tightly drawn municipal boundaries and outmigration of young families has resulted in a somewhat 'imbalanced' social geography. The estimated daily influx of commuters into the city is 35,000 and thus the occupational structure of Portsmouth's weekday *daytime* population (including as it then would IBM executives, polytechnic lecturers and senior council officials amongst others) is different from its resident population. In contrast to many British cities it is the western sector of the city which is predominantly working class.

(iv) The administrative structure of Portsmouth City Council

Following the introduction of the two-tiered system of local government in England in 1974, the former county borough of Portsmouth has become a district albeit retaining its city status. This means of course that major decisions concerning services such as education, social services, and roads are the statutory responsibility of Hampshire County Council. However, by means of decentralisation and agency agreements established at reorganisation local administration of some services (though not ultimately control) has been retained. In recent years however this measure of autonomy has been eroded as this county has centralised its service administration in Winchester.

Nonetheless Portsmouth Corporation still has approximately 3,260 employees mainly in its modern Civic Offices built opposite the Guildhall in the early 1970s at a cost of about £10 millions. The structure of

committees, and sub-committees is shown in Fig. 4.7(a). The corresponding simplified hierarchical structure of departments is indicated on Fig. 4.7(b). During the late 1970s and early 1980s certain changes were made. For example, the Environmental Health and housing departments/committees were merged. Although the city council enjoys a measure of autonomy vis-a-vis the county in those services which both have some responsibility it has not chosen to decentralize the management of its own services. There are district housing offices in Paulsgrove and at Leigh Park but otherwise no attempt has been made to devolve decision-making to areas or neighbourhoods or locate offices (as opposed to depots) in different parts of the city.

Like other local authorities in Britain the city council has been under severe financial pressure and has been rate capped. It has privatised some of its services and reduced the size of its direct labour force. On the other hand some departments, notably Leisure Services, have undergone substantial growth in recent years and the municipally owned continental ferry port has been expanded.

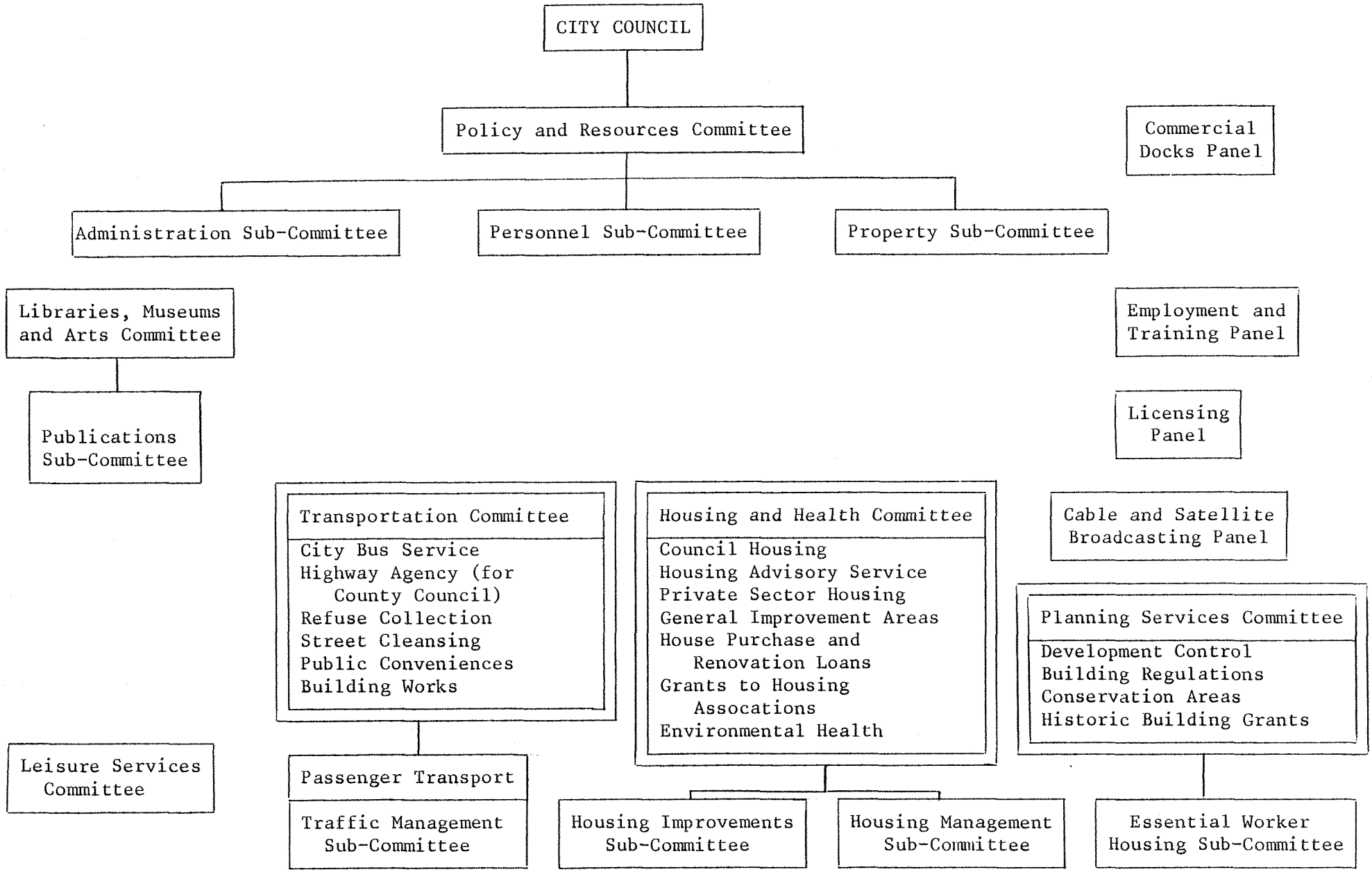

Figure 4.7(a) City of Portsmouth, Committee Structure, 1984 Source: City Secretary

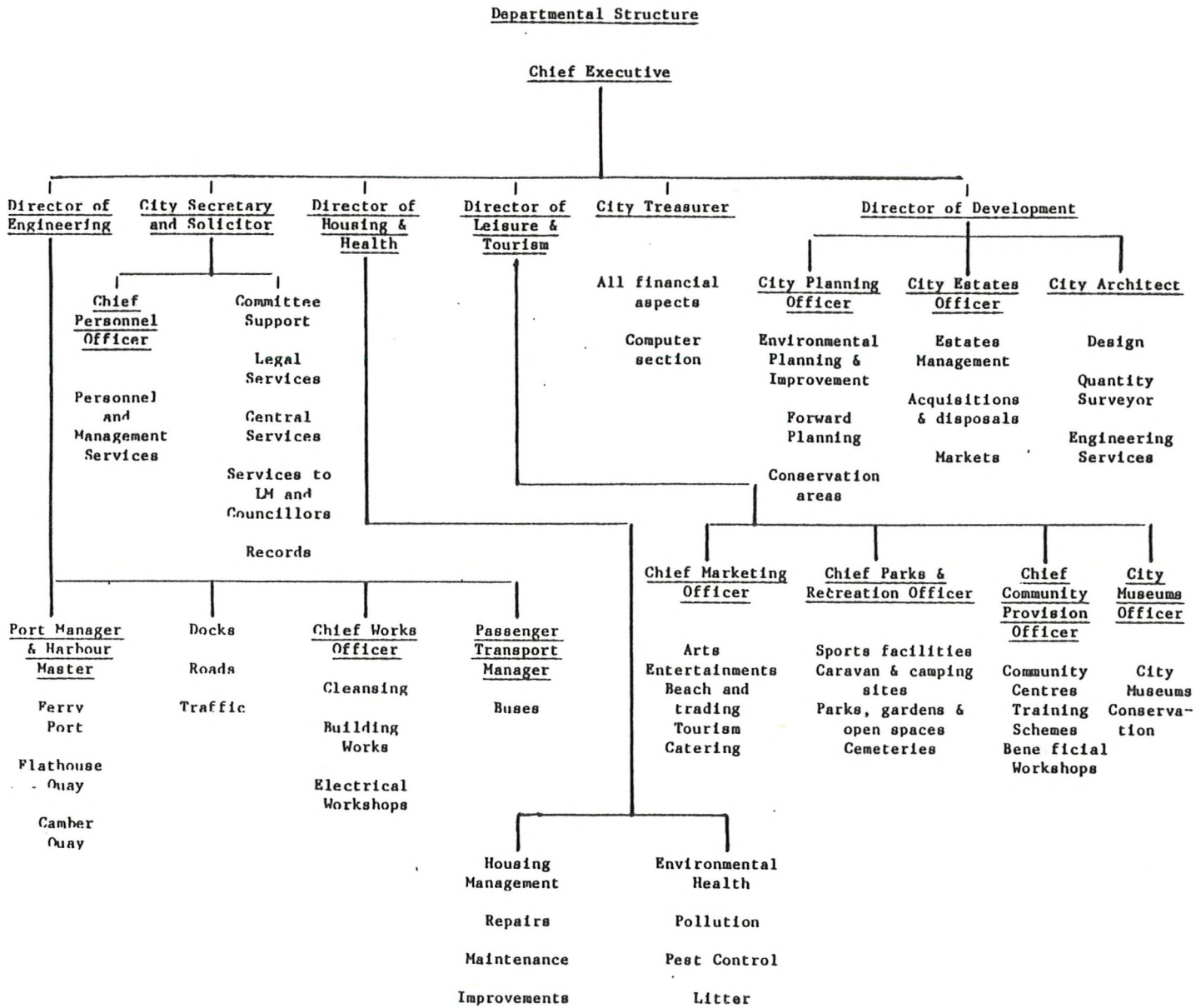

Figure 4.7(b) Departmental structure

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PART TWO

CHAPTER V

MODES OF PARTICIPATION

The empirical part of the study commences with an analysis of a range of contrasted modes of political participation in the study area in the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s. In this chapter the series of contrasted types of political involvement are considered in turn. The reason for this format is *not* that different channels of participation and tactics employed in demand-making are never used in combination with respect to particular issues or services. As will be seen, particularly in Chapters VII to X this is far from the case. The strategy adopted in this chapter is based on the premise that different modes of participation have varying causes, characteristics and consequences.

Initially electoral participation is examined and patterns of registration, turnout, and party support over several elections are described and explained. This is followed by sections on individual contacting, petitioning, objecting to planning applications, sending deputation to the city council, demand-making by neighbourhood associations and ad hoc protest groups. Although this list represents a cross section of modes of participation - electoral/non electoral, individual/collective, institutional/informal - it is not exhaustive. Only brief mention is made of such activities as communicating with elected representatives, writing to local newspapers, taking legal action, demonstrating, giving oral and written evidence at public inquiries, appealing to the local ombudsman, and attending meetings of the city or county councils or their sub-committees.

The successive modes of political involvement are not treated uniformly. They are analysed over varying time scales, based on data obtained from contrasted sources, and to a certain extent analysed in different ways. Nonetheless for each type of participation the emphasis is placed on identifying spatial distributions within the city, and discerning regularities in the issues involved and the outcomes apparently resulting from demand-making. In Chapter IV it was hypothesized that geographically uneven patterns of political participation would be characteristic of the city. It was further

anticipated that variations in levels of participation would be broadly correlated with variations in housing tenure, and social class/ occupation. Also that those directly affected by local official action would be more likely to avail themselves of the opportunity to try to influence the city council in its deliberations and decision-making. As far as issues and outcomes associated with demand-making are concerned it was suggested that certain types of issues would stimulate political responses - again varying, depending on the type of neighbourhood concerned. The success or failure of demands made by individuals and organisations would, it was hypothesized, depend on no one single explanatory factor.

The aim of this chapter is thus to provide a snapshot - or cine film to be more precise - of the volume and pattern of local participation in Portsmouth. It will also provide clues as to the causes and effects of demand-making through a variety of institutional and informal channels.

(i) Electoral participation

Although the theme of this study is essentially one of political participation *between* elections nonetheless a section on electoral participation is included for two main reasons. First, the results of elections clearly determine which party has control of the city council and its committees and indeed a host of bodies some of whose members are political nominees. Party control is likely to affect the sort of channels of political communication which are available to the public, and may at least partially explain why pressure exerted on individuals or groups is, or is not, successful. The parameters of participation may thus be set in terms of which issues may be raised; which tactics are employed (especially in the case of non-statutory channels); to whom demands are addressed; and how favourable are the outcomes. Dearlove (1974) has shown in the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea the political complexion of the local council influenced the tone of local pressure group activity. Moon (1983) found in the neighbouring Borough of Havant, and Grant (1977) in Portsmouth that where senior, majority party councillors lived was indeed significant.

Secondly, showing and explaining patterns of electoral participation - in this case registering and voting in different elections

- may provide insights into the causes of non-electoral modes of political activity. It is clear that involvement at elections as well as the propensity to join local pressure groups is more pronounced in areas of higher socio-economic status. Thus comparisons between patterns of voting and other types of political involvement should be instructive in terms of whether or not substantial variations exist and why.

To this end the processes and patterns of (1) enrollment (getting onto the electoral register) will be outlined for a two-year period; (2) turnout and party support at eight elections between 1976 and 1983 will be analysed, and (3) the residential location of city councillors for the same period will be shown. Electoral enrolment and turnout remain very much a neglected research topic. (This is one reason why they are included in this chapter). One notable exception in relation to the former is Rumley's study of registration, turnout, partisan voting and 'informal voting' (spoilt ballot papers) in an Australian urban context (Rumley, 1980). There, in spite of the fact that registration and voting is compulsory, considerable intra-urban variation was discovered in the proportion of the eligible population which actually enrolled and subsequently voted. The incidence of spoilt ballot papers (accidental or purposeful) also varied. In central and inner city areas up to eight per cent of the population (comprising mainly private housing tenants, Aborigines and young transients) broke the law by not enrolling whereas certain 'privileged' of the suburban areas had an almost 100 per cent registration rate. Turnout at state elections in Perth varied between 64 per cent and 96 per cent with, as expected, suburban areas characterised by high home ownership, church membership and 'a sense of civic duty' recording a high propensity to vote (and stay within the law!). Between 1.6 per cent and 8 per cent of voters spoilt their ballot papers. It was in electoral areas which were frequently won by the Australian Labour party that the reluctant or confused voters were prone to indulge in what Rumley calls 'informal voting'. Patterns of enrollment and some of the processes by which officials in Portsmouth compile the electoral register are included for two reasons. First because, as intimated above, no such study has to the knowledge of the author been undertaken. Secondly the efforts made by the council to avoid disenfranchising the public, i.e. to include them on the electoral role are in stark contrast in some cases to what

is done to enhance non-electoral participation.

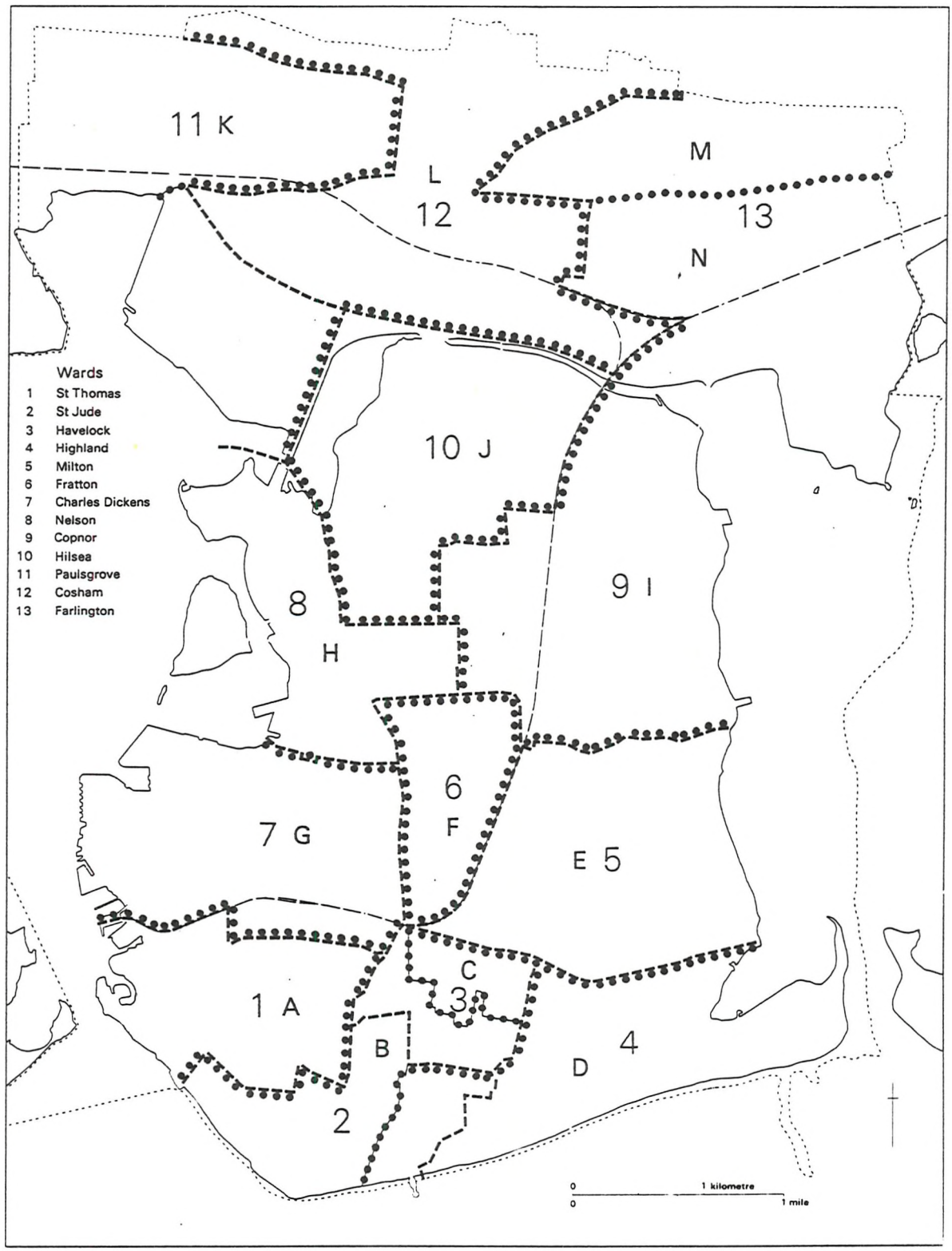
(a) Enrollment

The preparation of an accurate annual electoral register is the aim of the city's electoral registration officer (E.R.O.). The process of compiling the register as shall be seen a lengthy and complex one in which the officers strenuously attempt to ensure that as large a proportion as possible of qualified residents of the city actually register as electors. It is a little known fact that wilful refusal to enrol is an offence entailing a maximum fine of £200. In fact the city council has never prosecuted, but instead goes to considerable lengths to persuade reluctant or indifferent residents to register. How far in different parts of the city is the information required to permit registration 'willingly' given, and which sorts of area do qualified potential electors have to be reminded and threatened with prosecution are two pertinent questions to be answered.

Of course not everyone in the city is qualified to vote. Electoral registration, as Richardson has noted, is in a sense a form of participation for which there is a selection process (Richardson, 1983, p.11). British subjects (citizens of the U.K. and colonies and certain commonwealth countries); and citizens of the Republic of Ireland; voluntary patients in psychiatric hospitals; students; those in 'constructive residence' (i.e. away on visits, in hospital, and on business); selected citizens of Pakistan are all (if 18 years old) entitled to register. Those only temporarily resident; in legal custody (though not on remand); detained in mental hospitals or deemed to be suffering from mental disorders, citizens of other European Community member states and South African citizens are *not* eligible. Special arrangements are made for service voters.

The registration process

The city is divided up into canvas areas (see Fig. 5.1) for the purpose of registration. While most of these units coincide with wards, there is not an exact fit. Thirteen 'ward supervisors' are in charge of the collection and collation of data and for the supervision of the work of 'canvassers' who each control one or two polling stations. Most of these personnel (all the ward supervisors) are middle ranking local government officers who are given extra remuneration for performing these tasks.



Canvas Areas

A	St Thomas	G	Charles Dickens	M	Farlington (part)
B	St Jude (part) and Havelock (part)	H	Nelson	N	Farlington (part)
C	Havelock (part)	I	Copnor		Ward boundary
D	St Jude (part) and Highland	J	Hilsea		Canvas area boundary
E	Milton	K	Paulsgrove		
F	Fratton	L	Cosham		

Figure 5.1 Canvas areas for registration

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

The main stages in the compilation of the register are as follows:- 1. Form A's are delivered in September/October each year to *all addresses* on the previous register and all properties known to ward supervisors, for example, new properties (also inserted is a mini census form soliciting basic population data for the planning department). The completed forms are checked by ward supervisors and compared to the previous register. 2. One week after ward canvassers are required to visit *all* addresses from which no A forms have yet been received. These forms are thus collected in person - assuming the recalcitrant residents are at home at the time of the visit. If they are not, a reminder (form 32A) is left together with an additional A form in case the one delivered earlier has been mislaid. 3. A *second visit* is also made to addresses where no contact was made previously. Again, occupiers are urged to return the forms by post or hand them over on the spot. Again checks are made with neighbours and death lists, for example, to resolve any queries. 4. Two weeks later a *final call* is made to addresses from which information has still not been obtained. In such cases yet another A form is delivered, together with form 32B - a final reminder which contains a reference to the legal obligation to register. Householders who refused to complete form A are personally visited by ward supervisors and reminded of the fine they might incur if prosecuted. 5. Ward supervisors will complete the draft register preparation.

Minor variations in the process outlined above may be followed by individual ward supervisors in the light of their own experience and the sort of area for which they are responsible. Nonetheless, approximately the same procedure is undertaken all over the city insofar as potential electors are given every opportunity to register, and indeed are actively encouraged (and threatened) to do so. When a draft register is published the public are then invited to inspect copies in the Civic Offices, at libraries, post offices and other public buildings. (There are generally about 300 enquiries and complaints each year). The new register is published the following year and is freely available to councillors and political parties and on sale to the public.

Fig. 5.2(a) indicates the varied response on the part of the public

	Canvas Area	Form A's issued '82	Form A's issued '83	Form 32A and B forms issued as % of A forms issued '82	Form 32A and B forms issued as % of A forms issued '83	Form 32B issued as % of A's '82	Form 32B issued as % of A's '83	Ranking for 2 years	% of properties returning form A's promptly (by Nov 10th) (& rank) '82	% of properties returning form A's promptly (by Nov 10th) (& rank) '83
A	St. Thomas	6330	6550	39	40	19	20	(14)	87(7)	88(7)
B	St. Jude/Havelock	6014	5918	19	19	9	7	(9)	86(8)	80(13)
C	Havelock	3190	2995	31	19	8	9	(10)	72(14)	90(3)
D	St. Jude/Highland	7903	7953	23	20	11	9	(12)	77(13)	82(10)
E	Milton	5008	5066	5	20	1	7	(5)	87(5)	95(1)
F	Fratton	5519	5524	13	14	5	4	(6)	88(4)	86(8)
G	Charles Dickens	5685	5202	34	9	11	4	(8)	81(9)	77(14)
H	Nelson	6498	6040	26	15	14	7	(13)	79(12)	86(9)
I	Copnor	5503	5620	7	10	1	2	(2)	91(2)	89(4)
J	Hilsea	5846	5827	12	11	2	3	(3)	80(11)	81(11)
K	Paulsgrove	4772	4836	12	14	4	3	(4)	80(10)	88(6)
L	Cosham	5058	5148	11	13	4	6	(7)	87(6)	81(12)
M	Farlington N	2398	2388	11	11	11	8	(11)	90(3)	88(5)
N	Farlington S	2561	2577	2	1	1	1	(1)	91(1)	91(2)

Figure 5.2(a) Variation in response in electoral enrolment (by canvas areas)

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

	1981	1982	Ranking for 2 years
St. Thomas	58.7 (11)	57.9 (11)	(12)
St. Judes	58.3 (13)	51.0 (12)	(13)
Havelock	70.9 (4)	70.6 (3)	(4)
Highland	65.6 (9)	65.0 (9)	(8)
Milton	71.7 (3)	70.2 (4)	(3)
Fratton	69.8 (5)	67.2 (6)	(6)
Charles Dickens	66.3 (8)	57.9 (13)	(10)
Nelson	68.1 (7)	69.0 (5)	(4)
Copnor	75.2 (2)	76.0 (1)	(2)
Hilsea	64.0 (10)	64.2 (10)	(9)
Paulsgrove	58.5 (12)	65.1 (8)	(11)
Cosham	68.1 (6)	66.3 (7)	(7)
Drayton & Farlington	76.1 (1)	74.6 (2)	(1)
	67.1	65.9	

Figure 5.2(b) Variation in response to mini census (by new wards)
Source; City Planning Department

in 1982 and 1983 to register and Fig. 5.2(b) for the mini census held in 1981 and 1982. They give an indication of the 'willingness' of qualified residents to register and the differential effort expended by canvassers in different canvas areas to obtain as high a rate of enrollment as possible. The numbers of A forms distributed in each area (Columns 2 and 3) is merely a rough approximation of the number of properties therein, although, as has been noted, canvas areas where forms are not returned promptly require additional A forms to be distributed by canvassers on their first and subsequent visits. Of more significance is the total number of reminder forms issued (32A's and B's), and in particular the number of 32B's (final reminders) as a

percentage of A forms for each canvas area (columns 3 and 4, 5 and 6). An indication is thus given of the relative need for householders to be reminded, i.e. a measure of their resistance or indifference and the relative energy expended by officials in different areas. Columns 7 and 8 - the percentage of properties having returned their completed A forms by November 10th - is a measure of the speed of response albeit a prompted one since by that time reminder forms would have been delivered and visits paid by canvassers. Although too much should not be read into these figures and the rankings, it is noticeable that the householders in the two parts of Farlington, as well as Nelson, Milton and Copnor wards need less persuasion and all tend to send their A forms back promptly. These canvas areas are located on the eastern side of the city which are predominantly areas of higher socio-economic status, and characterised by high rates of home ownership (Appendix A, and Figs. 4.6(a) and (b)).

Although the propensity to return the mini population census form which is delivered with A forms, with or without prompting, is not of any political significance it may be seen as a measure of a sense of civic duty. Fig. 5.2(b) shows the ranking of 13 wards by the percentage of householders who 'voluntarily' returned information about the size and age of their households. Again it can be seen that the Farlington, Copnor and Milton areas display a positive response as does Havelock ward in Southsea. Whereas St. Jude, Charles Dickens and St. Thomas wards are at the least responsive end of the table. Figures on the actual enrollment rate for the city as a whole or for different neighbourhoods cannot be calculated since the number of potential voters is not known (Smith, C., 1981). However, the electoral registration officer believes that the number and percentage of qualified residents who do not get onto the register is very small. Given the considerable efforts of his staff to ensure that this is the case, this claim may indeed be accurate. There is little doubt that a situation of only minor inequalities in rates of enrollment is largely due to the sustained efforts of officials. They ensure that most qualified householders, who have a statutory duty to register as electors, do in fact get onto the annual electoral roll.

(b) Turnout

Conventional wisdom suggests that the overall turnout at elections,

i.e. the percentage of those on the electoral roll who actually vote, varies depending on what sort of election is being held. It is also widely believed that turnout is higher amongst (Conservative) voters in areas of higher socio-economic status and lower in the case of working class voters who traditionally support the Labour Party. Marginality and campaigning effort are also generally considered as determinants of spatial variation in turnout.

During the period 1976-83 eight elections were held (for Parliament, the European Assembly, Hampshire County Council and Portsmouth City Council). A division of the city into 16 wards was the basis of elections until 1980, after which 13 wards were used. The constituencies of Portsmouth North and South also changed so that the general elections of 1979 and 1983 were fought within different constituency boundaries. The dates and types of elections and number of representatives elected for what areas are all indicated in Fig. 5.3.

6 May 1976	City Council Election	3 councillors for each of 16 wards
5 May 1977	County Council Election	1 county councillor for each of 13 wards and 2 councillors for amalgamation of Portsea, Nelson & St. Mary Guildhall
(3 May 1979	City Council Election	(3 city councillors elected for each of 16 wards)
(		
(		
(3 May 1979	General Election	(2 constituencies, 8 wards in each constituency)
7 June 1979	European Assembly Election	(16 wards - one part of SE Hants & Isle of Wight euro constituency)
7 May 1981	County Council Election	(1 county councillor for each of 13 wards)
5 May 1983	City Council Election	(3 city councillors elected for each of 13 wards)
9 June 1983	General Election	(2 constituencies, Portsmouth North containing Purbrook and Stakes Ward outside city boundary, and 6 wards, Portsmouth South 7 city wards)

Figure 5.3 Elections held 1976-83 Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

Turnout rates were calculated for different elections in the years 1976-83 and are shown in Fig. 5.4(a). The not unexpectedly higher turnouts that were recorded for the two constituencies in the general elections of 1979 and 1983 are close to the British norm. The variation between Portsmouth North and South constituencies is probably due to the greater marginality of the former. On 3rd May, 1979, both Parliamentary and city elections were held. It is interesting to note the lower average turnout rate (66.3 per cent) for the municipal election as compared to that for the Westminster election. There was some variation between wards in the extent of this difference. The difference was low in Portsea (3.1 per cent) and Farlington (4.7 per cent) whereas in other wards, for example, St. Simon (9.8 per cent), St. Mary Guildhall (8.2 per cent) and Meredith (7.6 per cent) the discrepancy was greater. It is not clear why between 3 per cent and 9 per cent of the electorate deliberately or accidently abstained from recording their votes in the local election even when they were already in the polling station to vote for a parliamentary candidate, but it is an interesting finding nonetheless. Also to be noted is the fact that the electorate's interest in representation on Hampshire County Council as expressed at the 1977 and 1981 county elections is substantially lower than that for municipal city elections. Again some variation between wards is discernable, electors in certain wards expressing consistently greater apathy towards county council affairs than elsewhere. In the inner city in the 1977 election only 28 per cent voted in Portsea and 29 per cent in St. Mary Guildhall wards while 32 per cent voted in

1976	City	40.2
1977	County	36.6
1979	City	66.3
	General	75.4
	(North	78.2)
	(South	72.6)
	European	29.1
1981	County	38.9
1983	City	43.3
	General	69.7
	(North	72.2)
	(South	67.1)

Figure 5.4(a) Overall turnout at elections 1976-83

	Ballot Papers	Votes
1976 (City)	58,498	160,961
1979 City, General and European	103,059	275,443
1983 (City)	60,968	170,789

Figure 5.4(b) Total ballot papers and votes cast at selected elections

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

Charles Dickens Ward in 1981. In contrast over 40 per cent voted in suburban Farlington at both county council elections. The European Parliament election on June 7th, 1979, attracted an even lower average turnout (29.1 per cent).

The tables in Fig. 5.4(c) and the maps in Figs. 5.4(d) and 5.4(e) show the overall patterns in level of turnout at all eight elections (16 wards prior to 1980 and 13 thereafter). It is apparent that although the ward ranking for different elections does vary to an extent some overall trends are discernable. In the north east of the city Farlington Ward is ranked consistently at the top of the turnout league just as inner city St. Jude is at the bottom. Wards which contain predominantly public sector housing such as Charles Dickens (St. Mary Guildhall and Portsea wards prior to 1980) and peripheral Paulsgrove recorded a low turnout overall. As will be seen a consistent pattern of low turnout was recorded by wards which voted in Labour Party candidates in county and city council elections. The statistical association between voting turnout of wards and a variety of ward characterstics are shown on Fig. 5.4(f). This ward analysis shows that high owner/occupation and car ownership rates and large car ownership rates and a large proportion of professional and managerial occupations are positively correlated with higher turnout rates for elections held over the period. Likewise, wards characterised

16 wards (1976-79 average turnout)	
owner/occupiers and turnout	r = + 0.625
car ownership and turnout	r = + 0.642
unemployment and turnout	r = - 0.675
professional managerial and turnout	r = + 0.275
council tenants and turnout	r = - 0.192
13 wards (1979-83 average turnout)	
owner/occupiers and turnout	r = + 0.808
car ownership and turnout	r = + 0.449
unemployment and turnout	r = - 0.731
professional managerial and turnout	r = + 0.141
council tenants and turnout	r = - 0.397

Figure 5.4(f) Association between ward characteristics and turnout at elections

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer and City Planning Dept.

Wards 16	1976 City	1977 County	1979 Gen.	1979 City	1979 Eur.	Overall Ranking
1 St. Thomas	12	12	15	15	10	12
2 Portsea	13	16	13	10	16	14
3 Nelson	1	10	4	4	12	5
4 North End	7	9	6	6	6	7
5 Buckland	3	2	3	2	11	4
6 Kingston	4	1	8	7	5	2
7 Highland	6	11	9	11	9	9
8 St. Simon	10	8	11	13	2	10
9 Havelock	5	4	10	9	4	6
10 St. Jude	14	14	16	16	7	16
11 St. Mary Guildhall	15	15	14	14	15	15
12 Fratton	11	5	12	12	13	11
13 Paulsgrove	16	13	7	8	14	13
14 Cosham	8	6	5	5	8	8
15 Farlington	2	3	1	1	1	1
16 Meredith	9	7	2	3	3	3

Wards 13	1981 County	1983 Gen.	1983 City	Overall Ranking
1 St. Thomas	7	13	10	11
2 St. Jude	12	11	13	12
3 Havelock	4	4	3	3
4 Highland	5	9	6	6
5 Milton	1	6	2	4
6 Fratton	9	7	7	8
7 Charles Dickens	13	12	12	13
8 Nelson	6	10	5	5
9 Copnor	3	3	4	2
10 Hilsea	8	8	9	9
11 Paulsgrove	11	5	11	10
12 Cosham	10	1	8	7
13 Farlington	2	2	1	1

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

5.4(c) Ranking of wards by % turnout at elections, 1976-83

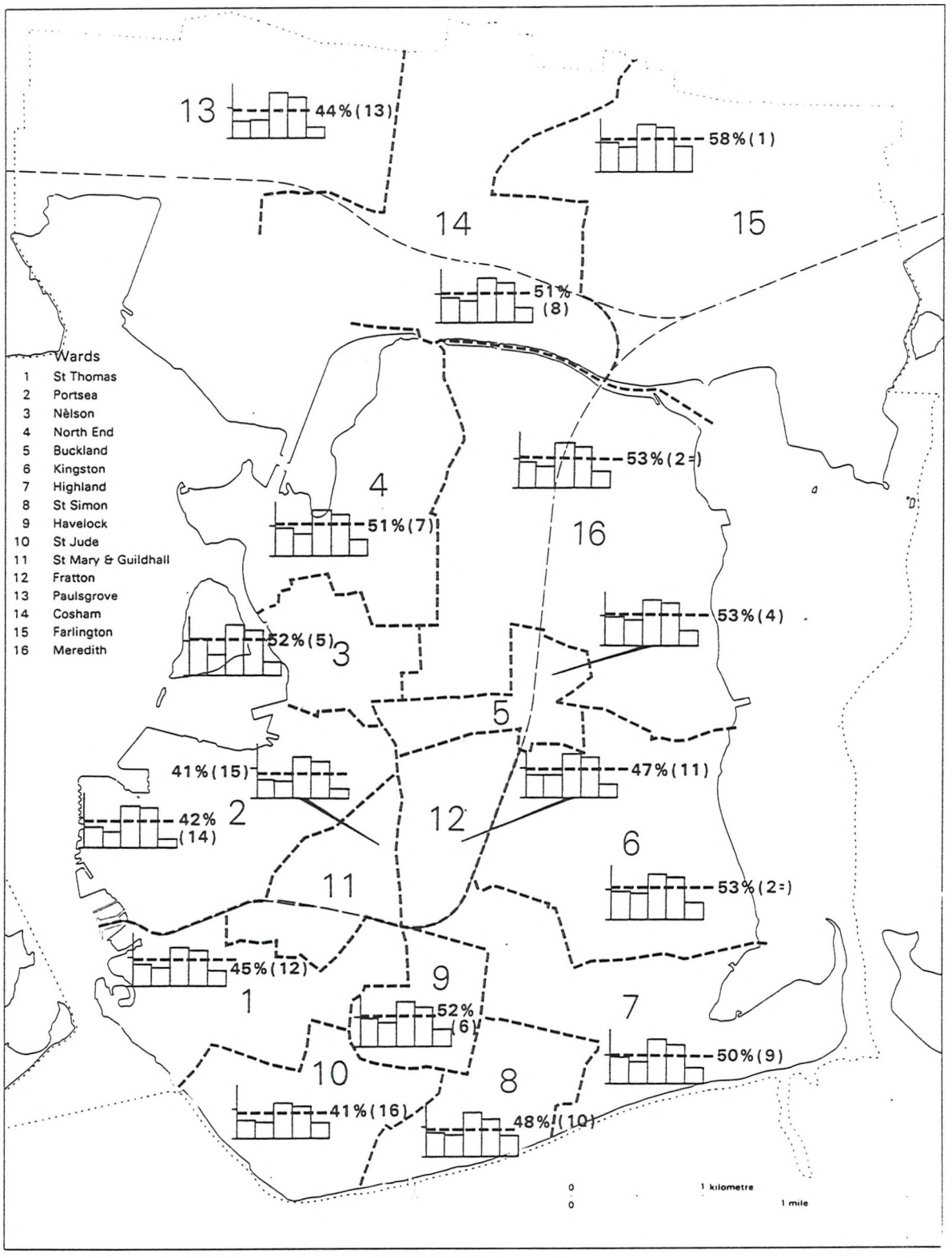
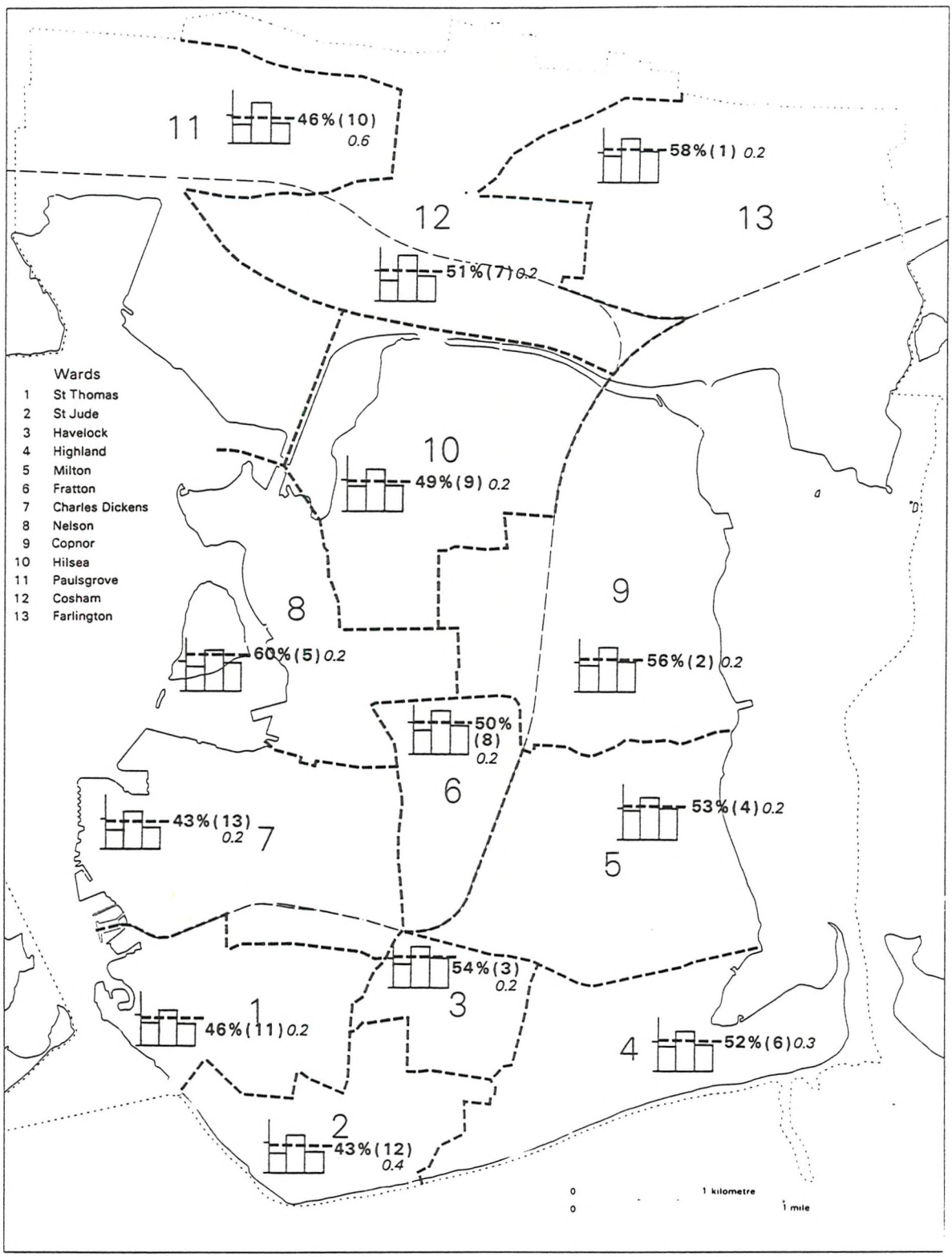
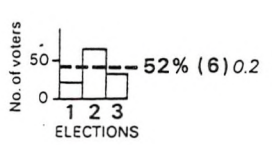


Figure 5.4(d) Variation in turnout by wards, 1976-79

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer





1 County 1981
2 General 1983
3 City 1983
52% Overall turnout in 3 Elections
(6) Ranking
0.2 % Spoiled ballot papers

Figure 5.4(e) Variation in turnout by wards, 1981-83

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

by high unemployment and council housing are negatively correlated with high turnout. The only clear cut case of marginality contributing to a higher than anticipated turnout would seem to be Kingston and Milton wards. Here the closeness of the contest at all local elections and sustained campaigning by the Labour party (Bochel and Denver, 1971) probably accounts for the high turnout at county and city council elections. For parliamentary elections it is far less impressive.

A tiny minority of voters either failed to record their vote(s) adequately or deliberately spoiled their ballot papers. As can be seen on the map in Fig. 5.4(e) the proportion did vary slightly as between wards with those in which Labour Party candidates won showing a slightly higher tendency to spoil ballot papers, for example Paulsgrove.

(c) Voting

The total votes cast for candidates representing political parties in the eight elections is shown in Fig. 5.5(a). In only one election during this period did Conservative Party candidates *not*

Election	CON	LAB	IND	LIB/SDP	NF	ECOL
1976 City	86,261	61,397	6,346	6,957	-	-
1979 City	135,753	110,539	16,119	12,336	696	-
General	53,191	39,351	-	9,841	-	-
1981 County	21,329	23,413	163	8,440	143	234
1983 City	79,805	57,986	4,593	28,273	132	
General	56,514	23,337	554	26,180	279	172

Figure 5.5(a) Votes cast for candidates of different parties for selected elections

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

gain more votes than any other individual party. Indeed, in at least three elections their candidates polled more votes than those of other parties added together - the city council election in 1976 and the general elections of 1979 and 1983. Only in 1981 did the Labour Party gain more votes at the low turnout (pre-Falklands) county council election. It has been calculated by Piepe et al (1969) that the non Tory vote in the City of Portsmouth is approximately 10 per cent less than it should be given the occupational structure of its population.

Reasons that have been put forward to explain this conservative political culture include the high proportion of elderly people, the size of the service vote, and the traditional weakness of the trade unions in the city.

The overall pattern of party support in city elections - Conservative, Labour, SDP/Liberal Alliance, and others is shown on the maps in Figs. 5.5(b) and 5.5(c). Although the change of ward boundaries on Portsea Island makes direct temporal comparisons difficult in some areas the general spatial distribution of majority support for the main parties is clear enough. On the mainland Paulsgrove was won by Labour Party candidates in all elections including the 1979 city elections when former Labour councillors were not re-selected and stood as Independents. Farlington in contrast remained staunchly Conservative throughout. Cosham recorded the only Independent victories in the city and was won by Labour sporadically. At the southern end of the city Conservative Party candidates were voted into office in all Southsea wards with the sole exception of Havelock which in 1981 returned a Labour County Councillor by a slender majority. Inner city wards covering Portsea, Landport and Fratton were held by Labour at local elections and suburban wards in the north and east overwhelmingly voted for Tory candidates. Three SDP/Liberal Alliance candidates who had previously held seats as Labour councillors lost in 1983 with only Mike Hancock in Fratton retaining his majority in Fratton ward. As already noted Milton/Kingston ward was the most marginal in so far as it (along with Havelock and Cosham) was won by candidates of different parties at the five local elections during 1976-83. Analysis of socio-economic characteristics and party support for the 1979 and 1983 city council elections show that a number of significant, and for the most part expected, positive correlations were recorded (Fig. 5.5(d)).

(d) Political control and representation

Having sketched out the main features of the electoral geography of the city there remains the task of linking votes to political power and in the case of Portsmouth almost continuous control by the Conservative Party. It has long been recognised that the plurality 'first-past-the-post' electoral system operating in Britain rarely creates an equal votes-seats ratio. Due to inequality in the size of

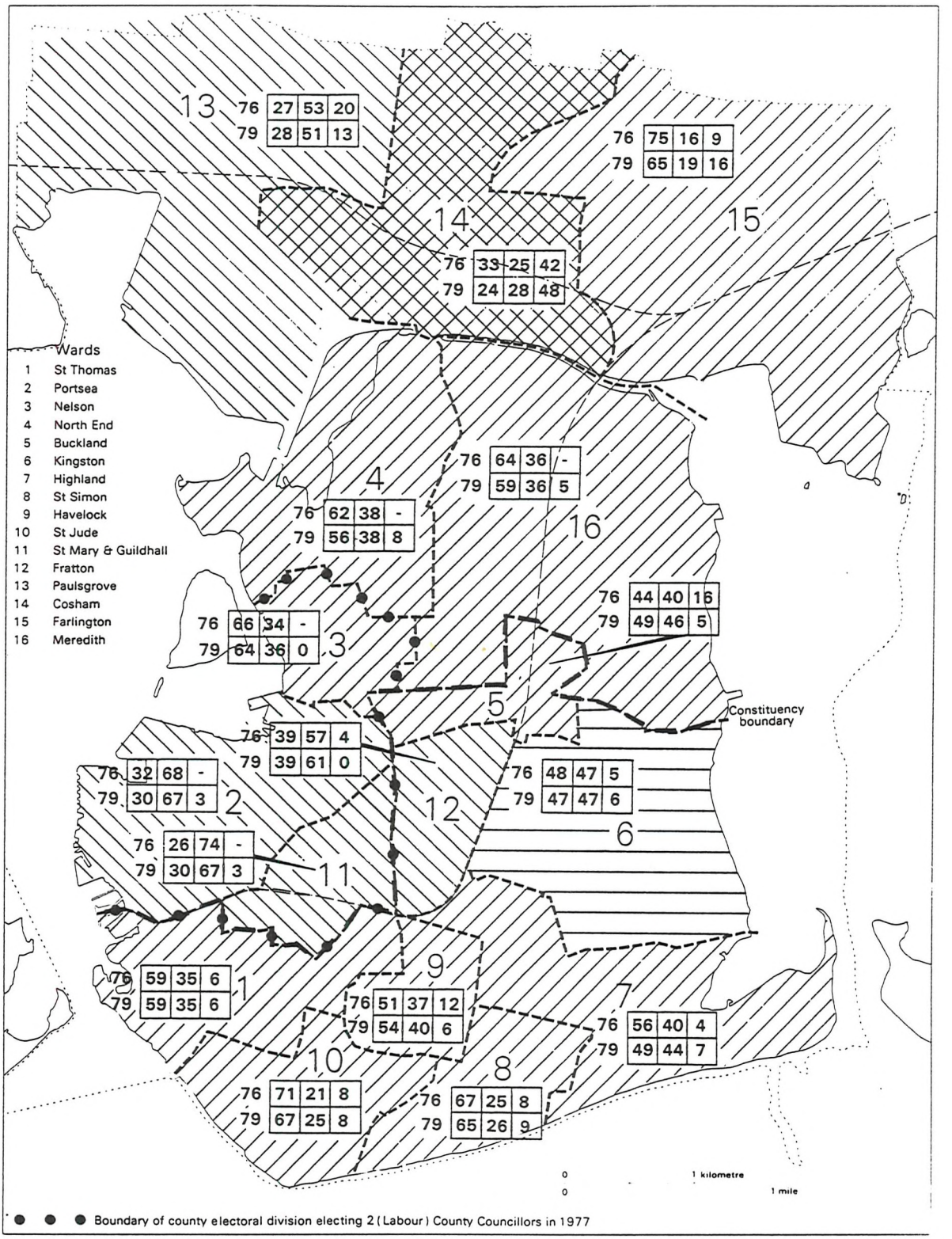
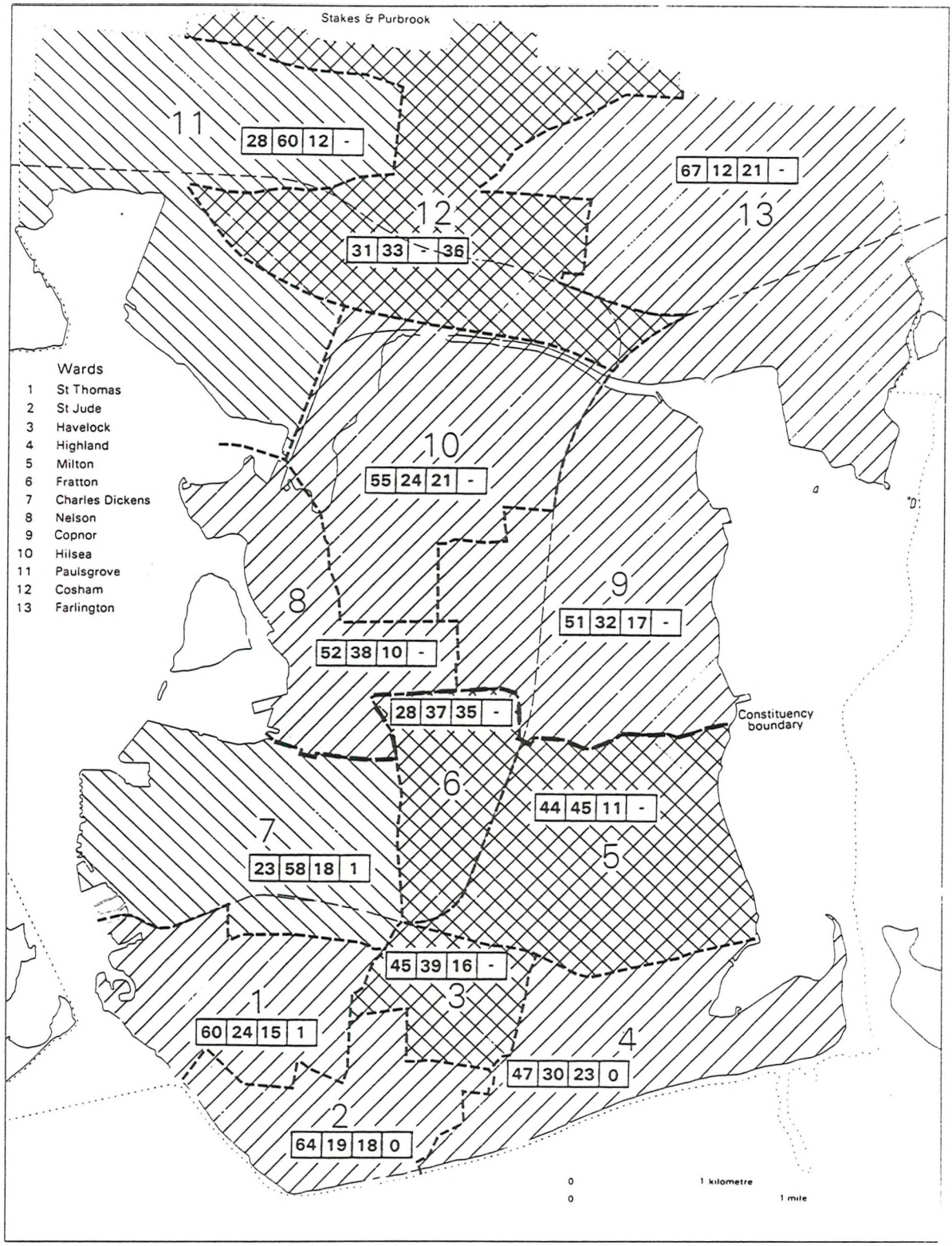


Figure 5.5(b) Pattern of party support in city elections, 1976-79

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer



Wards won by Conservative Party in both local elections

Wards won by Labour Party in both local elections

Wards won by candidates from different parties at local elections

% of votes for candidates of parties in City elections 1983

Conservative	Labour	Alliance	Other (NF & Lib)
46	35	17	2

Figure 5.5(c) Pattern of party support in city elections, 1983

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

1979 City Elections	
Professional and managerial occupations & Conservative vote	r = + 0.56
Owner/Occupation & Conservative vote	r = + 0.24
Car ownership & Conservative vote	r = + 0.11
Council tenants & Labour vote	r = + 0.49
Unemployed & Labour vote	r = + 0.16
Manual occupations & Labour vote	r = + 0.64
1983 City Elections	
Professional and managerial occupation & Conservative vote	r = + 0.63
Owner/Occupation & Conservative vote	r = + 0.18
Car ownership & Conservative vote	r = + 0.21
Council tenants & Labour vote	r = + 0.37
Unemployed & Labour vote	r = + 0.26
Manual occupations & Labour vote	r = + 0.70

Figure 5.5(d) Statistical association between ward characteristics and party support at city elections, 1979-83

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer and City Planning Department

the voting population as between electoral units, the distribution of support for specific political parties and a 'winners bias' phenomenon, votes are seldom transferred into seats in an exactly equitable basis. When ward and constituency boundaries in the City of Portsmouth were being altered by the Local Government Boundary Commission during the study period (local electoral wards in 1980 and Parliamentary constituencies in 1983) the Labour Party urged a radical redrawing of ward boundaries to eliminate what it claimed - with some justification (Fig. 5.6(a) - was an unfair inbalance between votes gained and seats won.

Their proposal for a set of a larger number of smaller wards as the basis for local council elections was rejected. The Local Boundary Commission's eventual 13 ward proposals, which were introduced in time

Year	Conservative % votes	% seats	Labour % votes	% seats
1953	53	67	45	33
1954	57	72	43	28
1955	59	81	41	19
1956	50	73	44	27
1957	48	50	50	50
1958	51	56	48	44
1959	56	62	42	38
1960	56	62	41	38
1961	53	56	47	44
1962	49	50	49	50
1963	42	31	51	69
1964	47	50	49	50
1965	60	81	34	19
1966	52	65	41	35
1967	55	82	31	12
1968	64	88	22	0
1969	66	94	22	6
1970	54	72	34	28
1971	43	44	47	56
1972	49	71	44	29
1973	51	58	45	35

Figure 5.6(a) Proportion of votes gained and seats won by Conservative and Labour candidates in city council elections, 1953-73

Source: Portsmouth Labour Party

for the 1981 county elections, closely followed the recommendations which had been put forward by the Conservative controlled city council. Likewise the division of the city into two Parliamentary constituencies incorporating in Portsmouth North the Stakes-Purbrook Ward in Havant Borough also coincided with the scheme proposed by local Conservative party officials. The Boundary Commission's decisions are guided by technical and geographical criteria such as parity of size of voting populations, the use of administrative and jurisdictional boundaries. Nonetheless in this case it was the Conservative controlled city

council's proposals which were accepted and electoral bias, though on a reduced scale, is still apparent in recent elections (Fig. 5.6(b)).

Party	CON	LAB	LIB/SDP	IND
Total votes	301,819	229,922	47,566	2,705
% vote	49	38	8	5
% seats	65	28	1	6
Electoral bias	+ 16%	- 10%	- 7%	+ 1%

Figure 5.6(b) City council elections - electoral bias

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

The number of seats gained by different political parties overall for the period and in each election can be seen in Figs. 5.7(a) and 5.7(b). It is evident that the overwhelming feature of the party politics in the city is one of domination by the Conservative Party. There was a 'comfortable' Conservative majority on the city council throughout the study period and a massive majority of the same party in the shire county of Hampshire, despite the fact that in 1981 seven out of 13 county councillors elected from Portsmouth were Labour Party candidates. At the parliamentary level, although Frank Judd held Portsmouth North for the Labour Party for 13 years until 1979, and Mike Hancock (SDP) unexpectedly won Portsmouth South for the Alliance in June, 1984, the constituencies were Conservative seats for most of the study period.

	CON	LAB	IND	LIB/SDP
City Councillors	88	38	8	1
County Councillors	16	11	1	-
M.P.'s	3	1	-	-
Euro M.P.'s	1	-	-	-
TOTAL	108	50	9	1

[Conservative majority on City Council: 1976-14, 1979-16, 1983-12]

Figure 5.7(a) Total officeholders by party, 1976-83

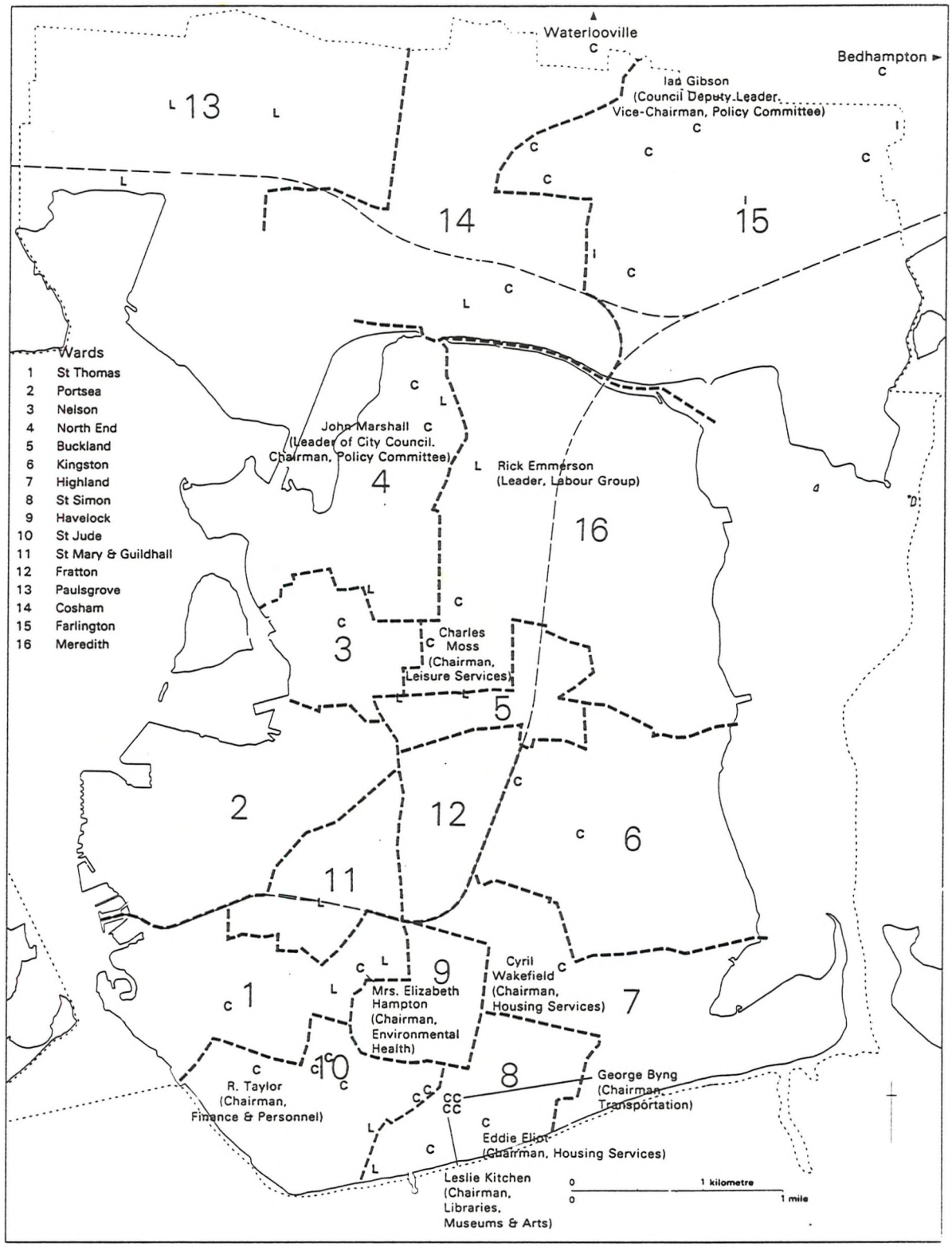
Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

		CON	LAB	IND	LIB/SDP
1976 City	(48)	31	14	3	-
1977 County	(15)	10	4	1	-
1979 City	(48)	32	13	3	-
General	(2)	2	-	-	-
Euro.	(1/3rd)	1	-	-	-
1981 County	(13)	6	7	-	-
1983 City	(39)	26	11	2	-
General	(2)	2	-	-	-

Figure 5.7(b) Seats gained by individual political parties, 1976-83

With the exception of one year the city council has been controlled by the Conservative Party ever since the war and this was clearly the case in the 1970s and early 1980s (Fig. 5.7(b)). It is pertinent to note that unlike the case of Southampton, the control of the Portsmouth City Council has not fairly regularly switched from one party to another and the dominant party has since the war been firmly in control. One further point should be borne in mind and that is this control has been perpetuated regardless of whether the entire council was being elected as in 1979 and 1983, or by means of a cycle of elections (a third of the council elected each year) as is currently the case. The possibility of a change in party control, a hung Council, or even a slender majority for the majority is remote. Although this situation may not affect the energy with which minority parties campaign at elections (and indeed register minor success) it is likely to have some impact on the political life of the city and political activity between elections.

Other features of the representation on the city and county councils worthy of note in the context of the present study are (1) the areas in the city which are represented by majority party councillors and in particular senior Conservative councillors including chairs of committees, and (2) the spatial distribution of councillors' residences. Possible links between the political geography of representation and processes and patterns of participation and demand-making should not be ruled out. The maps in Figs. 5.8(a) and 5.8(b) show the residential



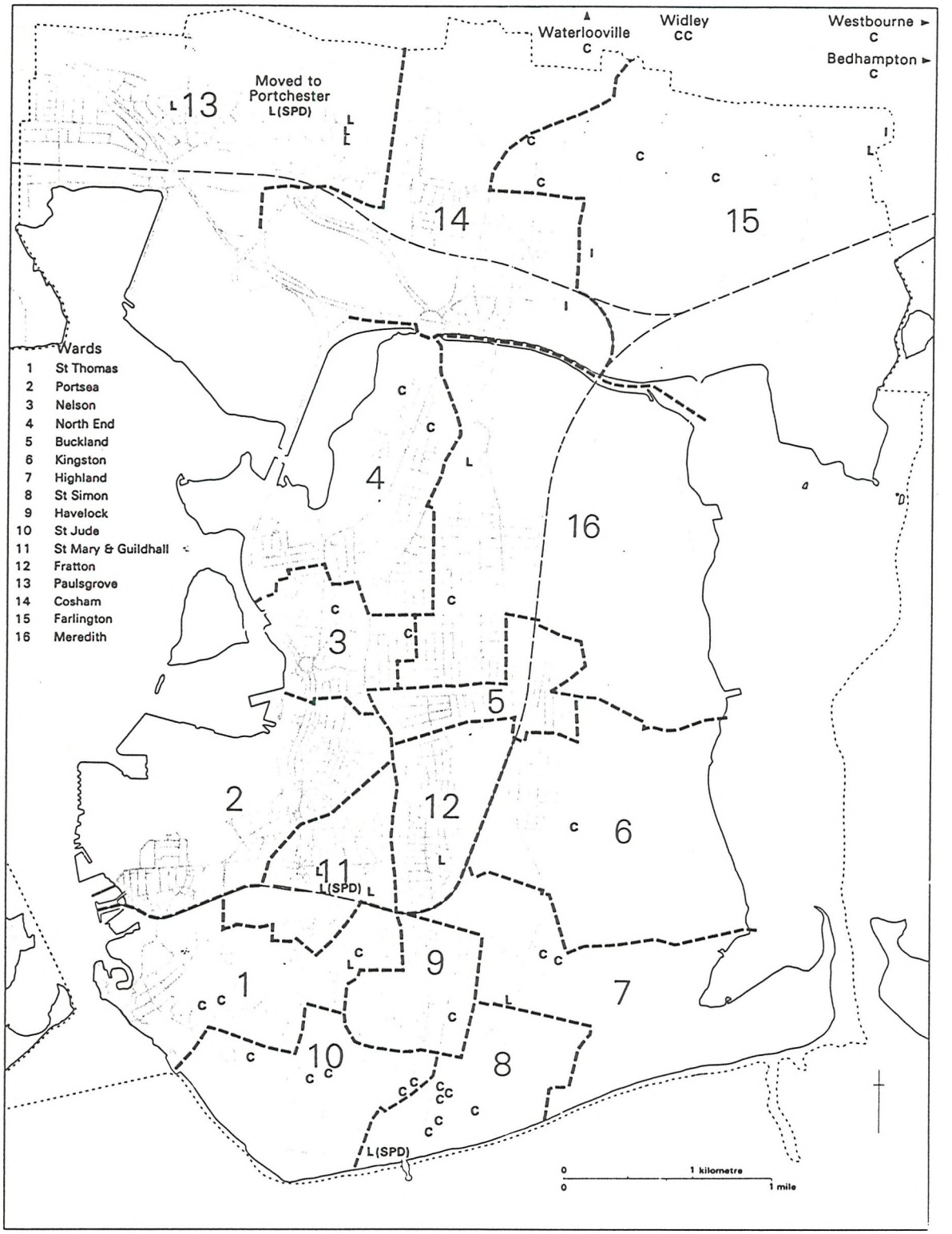
C Conservative

L Labour

I Independent

Figure 5.8(a) Residential location of city councillors (including chairs) 1976-79

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer



C Conservative

L Labour

L(SPD) Socialist Democratic Party

I Independent

Figure 5.8(b) Residential location of city councillors (1979-83)

Source: City Electoral Registration Officer

location of city councillors elected in 1976 and 1979. It can be seen that in both periods Conservative councillors mostly live in Southsea (with a significant cluster in the Craneswater Park area), with a few in North End (including John Marshall, the leader of the Council for much of the study period), the rest in Drayton and Farlington or outside the city boundaries. During 1976-79 Labour councillors were fairly widely distributed but after 1979 following defections to SDP and the non-reselection of the three incumbent Paulsgrove councillors, small clusters appear around Washbrook Road in East Paulsgrove, and also in Landport/Buckland.

In terms of the overall distribution of councillors - notwithstanding their party affiliation - it can be seen that some inner city wards are potentially lacking in political clout (Portsea, Fratton, Havelock), while St. Simon and St. Jude, and to a certain extent, Farlington, are considerably better endowed. The pattern of councillors living predominantly in high status neighbourhoods is one which was also found in Birmingham by Giles (1976). Although county councillors' residential patterns are not shown, if they were, the pattern would be similar. Indeed the concentrations which are apparent might be even more pronounced. For example, the former chairman of Hampshire County Council - Mr. Emery Wallis, who is brother-in-law of one of the senior councillors representing St. Thomas Ward, also lives in Craneswater Park.

To sum up, therefore, it has been shown that largely thanks to efforts of the city council's electoral registration officer and his staff most people in Portsmouth are entitled to vote even if only a minority choose to do so in local elections unless they are held on the same day as Parliamentary elections. While there is little variation in enrolment between different areas or indeed in spoilt papers, turnout rates do vary considerably but very much in the way expected. General elections and city council elections appear to be more salient to Portsmouth voters whereas fewer bother to go to the polls when it comes to Hampshire County Council or the European Assembly elections. Candidates representing the Conservative Party are most often successful at all levels in the hierarchy of representation. With the exception of 1981 the Conservative Party won a majority of seats even if on several occasions their candidates won less than half of the total votes. Politically, therefore, Portsmouth is pre-eminently a

Conservative Party controlled city. It would be surprising if this Conservative dominance had no significance for non-electoral participation in the city. This point will be taken up later in this chapter in relation to deputations.

(ii) Individual contacting

In their work on political participation in America, Verba and Nie (1972) identified individual contacts between citizens and the political elite as a significant form of political activity. They argued that forms of political activity could be differentiated according to the amount of information conveyed, the amount of pressure exerted, the level of conflict generated and the nature of the expected outcome. Based on these criteria individual contacting emerges as a form of political participation distinct from others such as voting or campaigning. Although the amount of pressure exerted upon local government officials is relatively low, individuals do raise issues with those in authority who are thereby informed about specific neighbourhood problems.

There is disagreement about the effect of individual contacts as a means of linking the needs and interests of citizens to public policies. Hansen (1975) found that individual contacts, relative to other forms of participation, had very little effect upon the attitudes and behaviour of local government officials because of the lack of an electoral sanction. In the British context Newton (1976) found that contacts from individual constituents were one of councillors' main sources of information. Studies of contacting, some of which were reviewed in Chapter III show that most contacts with local government are concerned with highly specific aspects of urban public service delivery such as neighbourhood cleaning or street maintenance.

As noted, Jones et al (1977) attempted to develop a model of individual contacting based on an assumed relationship between an area's social well-being and the propensity of individuals to make contacts. They hypothesized that an area's *need* for urban public services will decrease with increasing social well-being and that general awareness of whom to contact about urban problems will increase with the social well-being of an area. Areas having *both* needs and awareness (areas of medium well-being) should make most contacts. It should be noted that

Portsmouth City Council actively encourages individual contacts, enquiries and complaints. Every alternate year it publishes the 'ABC of Portsmouth' - a leaflet offering guidance as to which agency to contact in relation to a wide range of services, which is distributed to all households. It does not however have a centralised complaints receiving agency but instead channels contacts to the appropriate department or section.

In this case the environmental health department was studied (Burnett, Cole and Moon, 1982). This department has responsibility for the control and abatement of environmental problems, and has in the past forced landlords to repair properties, declared houses unfit, and designated slum clearance areas. It also had responsibility for ensuring the maintenance of minimum standards of repair and provision in the private housing sector. That this is a serious problem in the city has been shown by surveys which have estimated that approximately 5 per cent of all properties were unfit, and up to 20 per cent lack one or more basic amenities. The environmental health department has powers to deal with houses in multiple occupancy, but has no routinized inspection system to assess standards in this sector and only makes an inspection when a specific complaint has been received. Consequently, only approximately 500 of the estimated 5,000 houses in multiple occupancy in the city had been inspected in the mid-1970s. Housing complaints and rodent/pest complaints, constitute the two largest types received. Of the 687 housing complaints that were registered by environmental health officials in 1977, 75.5 per cent were concerned with aspects of structural disrepair, such as leaking roofs; 17.5 per cent were complaints about the condition of other people's houses (usually next door), and 7 per cent were concerned with amenities. Given the fact that the department responds to every complaint with a visit, and in many cases subsequent action was taken, the pattern of housing complaints was analysed to see where contacts were coming from in the city.

From the files of the environmental health department the address of each complainant was extracted and the geographical distribution of housing complaints was plotted (see Fig. 5.9). The basic pattern of complaints reflects to a certain extent the historical development of Portsmouth. One of the major source areas of complaints about housing

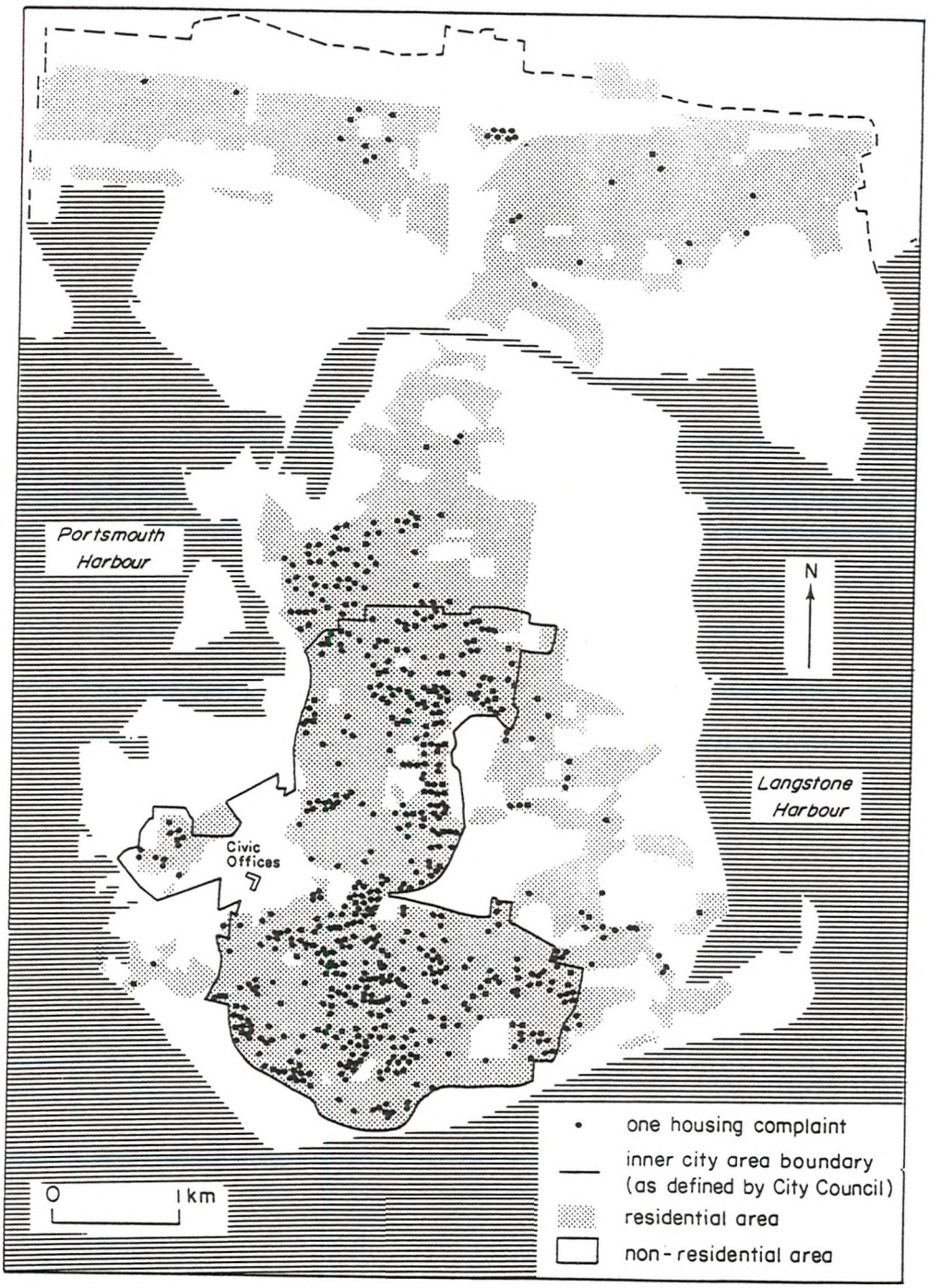


Figure 5.9 Spatial pattern of housing complaints received by Environmental Health Department, Portsmouth City Council.

Source: Burnett, Cole and Moon, 1983

comprises the large areas of late nineteenth century, inner city, terraced housing. In spite of war time bomb damage and post-war clearance large areas are still in existence and, as will be seen in Chapter VII, form the basis of the general improvement area programme in the city. One of the highest concentrations of complaints came from one particular area which was blighted for many years and has now been demolished. Another major source area also in Southsea is a zone of Victorian and Edwardian housing which is now characterised by high levels of multiple occupancy. Both are located in the officially designated inner city. However the inner city also contains large areas which have been re-developed by the council but from which very few housing complaints emanate. Those that do usually come from particular 'problem' tower blocks.

Fewer complaints are received from outside the inner city area except for Stamshaw which was the first part of the city to be declared an improvement area. Relatively few complaints are evident in the newer areas of inter- and post-war housing development. Paulsgrove, the one large peripheral council estate within the city boundaries generated few such housing complaints. The high rise development of Portsdown Park in which condensation has been a major problem ever since it was built has generated complaints, although generally few complaints are received by the environmental health department from council-owned areas. This is because the department's responsibilities are predominantly with privately owned housing and complaints concerning council housing are directed at the housing department. The environmental health department does receive some complaints from council tenants who claim to have received an unsatisfactory response from housing officials. Usually these complaints are merely referred back but in one extreme case the environmental health department served an abatement notice on the City Council in respect of dampness in a block of flats. Data collected from Portsmouth's environmental health department seems to indicate that not all contactors are aware that this agency is the most appropriate agency to solve their problems as many complaints are redirected to it from other sources such as city councillors and officials in other departments. Thus as far as this particular type of complaints are concerned the pattern is highly concentrated and one which is caused more by variation in housing age, and type than any other factor.

(iii) Petitioning

Petitioning is both a collective and individual form of political participation. Groups of residents and others work together to organise and present a petition to those in authority and yet petition signing is an individual act. During two years (1976 and 1977) more than 23,000 citizens put their signatures on the 46 petitions concerned with local issues which were reported in the local press. The patterns and processes of petitioning, which remains a neglected research topic, are singled out for analysis in this section (Bonilla, 1956).

The *Portsmouth Evening News* was a major source of data on what issues generated petitions; who organised them, how, and where; how many people signed them; how they were presented and to whom; and what impact (if any) they had on the decisions and action of the local council. Coverage on petitions by the local press is regrettably uneven and often fragmentary. Frequently information is given about the issue which is the subject of the petition and comments solicited from its organizers. However, apart from usually giving an indication of the number of signatures it attracted, not much else is said. Outcomes are rarely reported. Limited data available from council minutes and appendices was also obtained. A picture of the 44 reported issues which apparently angered and upset residents sufficiently to initiate this form of political action can be seen in Appendix B and the pattern in Fig. 5.10. The former provides details of the actual issues, the number of signatures contained, the demands made by petitioners, how they were presented, to whom and whether a tangible or merely symbolic outcome was forthcoming.

The type of issues which were the basis for petitioning over this two-year period are those which have been found to stimulate neighbourhood political activism elsewhere. Nearly half the petitions were concerned with what were deemed by residents to be noxious facilities, or the negative impacts associated with them. Residents demanded that such proposed facilities should not be established in their midst (5, 8, 10, 12, 14, 20, 22, 28, 35, 42). 'Desirable' facilities which were threatened with closure or relocation (1, 3, 16) were also the subject of petitions. Less frequently improvements/ changes in the quantity or quality of service provision were demanded, for example, bus services, housing, and street repairs. In a minority

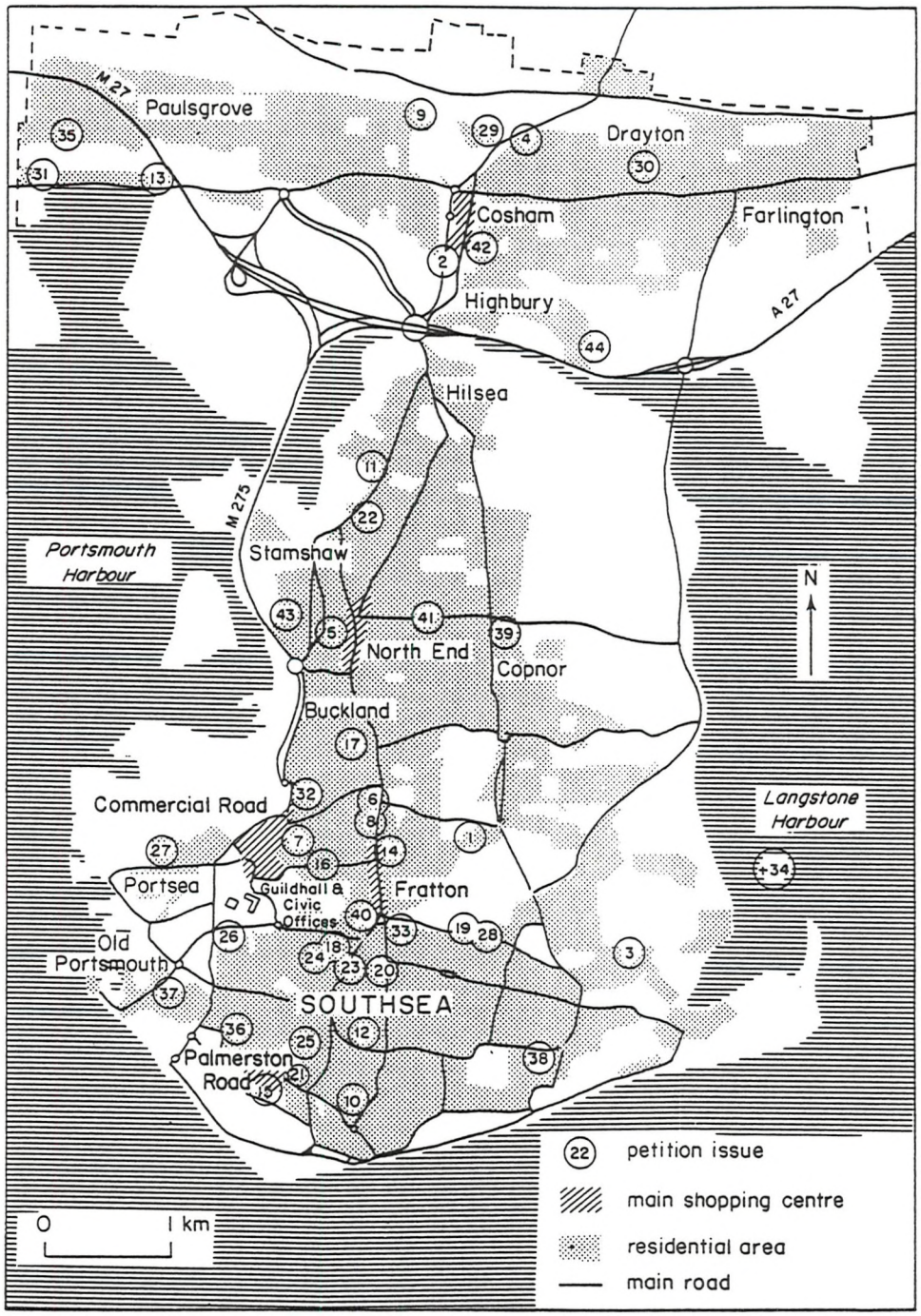


Figure 5.10 Spatial pattern of petition issues in the City of Portsmouth, 1976-77

Source: Burnett, Cole and Moon, 1982

of cases the regulation of traffic or anti-social behaviour was demanded (11, 18, 26, 34, 41).

These are, of course, the types of issues which would be expected to arise in a densely populated, Victorian city like Portsmouth. In contrast, petitions in adjoining suburban borough like Havant mostly revolved around the defence of open space being threatened with overspill council housing, gypsy sites and industry (Moon, 1982). In terms of the spatial pattern of petitioning (Fig. 5.11) it is apparent that the inner city section of Portsea Island was the major locale for petitioning activity. It is apparent that residents in inter-war or post-war mainly high status areas in the north east of the city had alternative methods of dealing with any local grievances they harboured.

There is clearly a link between the scale of potential impact created by official proposals or action (or lack of them) and the number and distribution of people signing petitions. A few issues draw a city wide response (1, 34) and their petitions attracted hundreds of signatures. For the most part, however, petitions were signed by between one or two hundred people usually living in close proximity in the same street or block of flats or the same neighbourhoods.

Petitions in Portsmouth were organized by small groups of residents, traders as well as the officers of neighbourhood associations. The actual wording on petitions being framed by the organizers often with the help of a sympathetic local councillor or MP. Usually fairly specific demands were stated, e.g. a "more expeditious method of rounding up and protecting tethered and neglected horses" (34). Freqently explanation of the grievance and demand were included on the petition: "there is considerable danger to roads, buildings, health and amenities of residents" (11).

Petitions were usually circulated by being physically taken round by the organizers to the houses of those potentially affected. In a few cases, however, they were placed in fixed locations, for example, a local shop, or in the case of the Gurney Road nursery (3), in surgeries and health centres throughout the city. Local newspaper reports give an indication of the strategies adopted by organizers to collect signatures. "Every flat in the block was visited" (7), and "residents were told that the house would be used for those convicted for drink, drug and sex

offences" (23). In a few cases, two separate petitions were raised but they made virtually identical demands.

Organizers seem to have had little difficulty in getting support for their petitions: "in all three streets only a tiny minority refused to sign the petition" (11): "in the Cumberland Road area 76.9 per cent of households signed the petition" (40). In their enthusiasm to collect signatures some organizers seem to have been less than discriminating about from where their support came. For example, in the petition opposing a housing development in Drayton (30) some 200 of the 800 signatures were from neighbourhoods quite distant from the site. Assuming they agree with the demand being made it seems that people are quite willing to sign petitions because, unlike alternative modes of collective participation, the act requires comparatively little effort. Furthermore as Cox and McCarthy (1980) have noted, signing petitions may be a matter of reciprocity, or 'mutual assistance' so that even if people are not affected personally by a threat they are willing to support those who are. It might be their turn next time and anyway it only takes a few seconds.

Having collected as many signatures as was deemed possible or desirable, the next task for organizers was to present them to agencies and individuals who they were trying to inform and influence. In a majority of cases the target for petitions was a committee of Portsmouth City Council. In particular the planning and transport committees were recipients of numerous petitions many of which were presented in person, i.e. as deputations. As will be seen it is customary in Portsmouth for deputations to be permitted to intercede on matters on the agenda of some committee meetings as well as the full council, section (v) of this chapter. Thus planning applications were decided after objectors had made their case and presented their petition (12, 20, 21, 23, 42). Other petitions were delivered to MPs and senior councillors or officials often with the press in attendance. It appears that petitioning on these occasions are directed at alerting public opinion as much as actually trying to persuade politicians or officials concerned, i.e. is an indirect form of participation.

There is no evidence that any of the 44 petitions were refused or turned away by those to whom they were presented. Thus at least they

were accorded access and placed on the agenda, i.e. a *symbolic* response was invariably given to them. The general attitude of councillors (though not necessarily of the professional officers) is summed up by a report in the local press and attributed to John Marshall, leader of the city council, in relation to a petition protesting at a planned car park in Stamshaw (in his ward): 'The petition is very welcome, it is a valuable expression of opinion and obviously the concern of residents is understood. If they do not want a car park then there will not be one'. The car park proposal was abandoned, and thus in this case more than symbolic reassurances were forthcoming.

More petitions succeeded (18) than failed (16) in having their demands met in some tangible way. In other cases the results were inconclusive or no information was available. In line with the demands incorporated in petitions local public expenditure was both increased (4, 38, 29) and reduced (8, 28, 47). Noxious facilities were not located at all (8, 20) or not in the site originally proposed (6, 15). Services were also improved (17, 27). The financial and other consequences of petitioning are difficult to quantify but in some cases substantial sums were involved. For example, £35,000 was paid in compensation to contractors when construction of squash courts at Wimbledon Park sports centre was stopped. The abandonment of the East-West road also represented a major shift in road policy in the city (Grant, 1977).

Of course there is no guarantee that petitioning directly or indirectly caused or even contributed to these decisions. In many cases a variety of tactics were employed in addition to raising a petition, for example, taking legal action over dampness in Portsdown Park (29) or soliciting the support of an MP (7, 21). All that can really be said is that petitions in some cases helped to convince those in authority that the public felt strongly on an issue. In not one of the 44 cases was an opposing petition raised but where this has occurred in the city since 1977 the local authority has generally taken no action. Of course those who stand to benefit from a proposal rarely have the incentive to organise a petition in support. Thus from the evidence of these two years, petitioning appears to be a widespread and popular form of political action. The reason is that petitions provide *evidence* of

support for a demand being made. Because signatures are relatively easy to collect petitioning is attractive to the public. For politicians they provide an opportunity to show that they are sympathetic to public opinion. Officers, for their part see petitions as at least providing some measure of what the public think about an issue.

(iv) Objecting to planning applications

Unlike petitioning which has no statutory basis the opportunity to object to planning applications is fully institutionalised in national legislation and local practice (Boaden et al, 1982). This body of legislation has been supplemented by advice from the Department of the Environment. For example, Circular 71/73 'Publicity for Planning Applications : Appeals and other Proposals for Development' urges that opinion should be enabled to declare itself before any approval is given to proposals of wide concern or substantial impact on the environment. Also that local planning authorities will sometimes have to judge proposals by principles which *may not reflect the views expressed by people in the immediate locality*, but it will nevertheless assist them not only in deciding these applications but also in their wider planning responsibilities *to be aware of local feeling* about significant proposals.

In relation to planning applications certain types of development must be advertised in the local press and by means of a site notice whereby details of the place where plans can be inspected are given. It is required that proposals to construct or use buildings or land for a varied list of 'bad neighbour' facilities be advertised. These include public conveniences, slaughterhouses, casinos, dance halls, skating rinks, gymnasia, zoos and establishments for boarding and breeding cats or dogs, motor car or cycle racing tracks, and cemeteries. In addition, similar publicity and opportunity for public comment must be given to developments which would, in the opinion of the authority, affect the character and appearance of a conservation area or affect the setting of a listed building or conflict with or prejudice the implementation of the provisions of the development plan. Finally Circular 71/73 *encourages* local authorities to ask developers to advertise by site notice proposals which would have a substantial impact on the neighbours. By that is meant introducing significant change in a

homogeneous area; affecting residential property by causing smell, noise or vibration; bringing crowds and/or noise into a generally quiet area; causing activity and noise at late or early hours in areas where this is not usual; and having an adverse effect on the general character of an area. Methods of alerting residents to these sort of applications include circulating letters directly to the occupiers of neighbouring properties, and for large-scale developments, organising public meetings and media publicity.

Within the framework of legal requirements and recommendations emanating from Whitehall the city council, and in particular the planning department's development control section, have developed their own customary procedures. Where direct notification is considered necessary a letter informing occupiers of 'nearby' premises is sent through the post or delivered by hand by planning staff. Copies of such letters are, as a matter of course, also sent to ward councillors. A copy of the planning committee agenda including any officers' reports is sent to the press prior to the meeting. When representations are made by the public in response to applications these are summarised by planning officers, i.e. they are not set out in full unless this is specifically requested. A list of applications to be determined by the committee at a given meeting is sent to all libraries in the city and is also displayed in the Civic Offices.

As already noted it has been the custom in Portsmouth to allow members of the public to address the planning committee.

In 1976 following criticism by Local Government Ombudsman of the city council over the handling of a planning application, a comprehensive review of the system of public consultation was mounted. Several recommendations were made - they were subsequently adopted in 1977 - (1) a full list of applications (apart from minor ones dealt with by the city planning officer under delegated powers) should be sent to the local press. (Agreement was subsequently reached with the editor of the local newspaper that such a list should be published on a weekly basis at no cost to the council). This list also to be circulated to public libraries, and city and county councillors. (2) Site notices should *only* be published where required by statute. (3) Individual letters should continue to be sent to occupiers of nearby properties.

(4) Large scale proposals should be the subject of special publicity. (5) Representations by the public which had previously been reported to the committee in a 'condensed fashion' should be reported 'as fully as reasonably possible'. Sending copies of actual letters from the public to committee members was ruled out. (6) The practice of allowing deputations to attend and address committee meetings should be restricted. It was noted that this custom had grown up in Portsmouth but was not practised in neighbouring authorities. It was also becoming increasingly frequent:

> 'There are dangers in this.... the committee may find itself unconsciously swayed by extraneous rhetoric and diverted from the planning issues especially when a decision has to be taken immediately after the deputation departs. Furthermore deputations take up valuable time at meetings which are already very long. A number of authorities approached on the subject all have no general practice of hearing deputations'.
>
> (Appendix to a report to the Planning Services Committee, 4th January, 1977, p.128).

(7) The city planning officer's discretion over arranging special publicity for any 'large, novel or controversial development proposal which offers a substantial district or the whole of the city' be confirmed.

It is interesting to note that these changes in the publicity given to planning applications and the opportunity for the public to object were conceived and guided by senior *officers* of the council. They have provided the basis for public involvement in respect to planning applications ever since.

The public then have the opportunity within 21 days to support or object to such applications and their views will be made known albeit in condensed form to the planning committee. They are still permitted though not encouraged to speak in person to the committee. Should the application be refused permission, and an appeal is lodged, their views will also be taken into account at any subsequent enquiry which is held. Organisations and individuals who apply for planning permission or object to an application (or support it) can contact and put pressure on a member of the planning committee or their ward councillors, although the latter do not have a vote on the committee. But what weight is

given to such objections vis-a-vis planning considerations in determining whether planning applications are accepted or refused?

The number and variety of planning applications in any year is considerable. From October, 1978 to September, 1979, a total of nearly 1,000 applicants were registered in Portsmouth of which 484 were minor ones (Parkin, 1980). Of the remaining 516 cases, a total of 388 (75 per cent) were permitted. One of the crucial elements in decisions relating to these planning applications was whether they 'fitted' in with existing local plans as well as the aims of conservation areas and general improvement areas (Fig. 5.11).

Proposed Development	Overall Success Rate %	Success Rate in:		
		Local Plan Area %	G.I.A. %	Conservation Area %
Housing	82	100	81	78
Industry/Storage	73	83	56	33
Office/Retail	68	87	57	54
Amenity/Education	78	100	86	88

Figure 5.11 Success rate of planning applications

Source: Parkin, 1980)

Thus objections by the public are evaluated in the light of 'technical' planning criteria and established plans. It would appear that public objections are unlikely *per se* to influence the decisions of the committee unless they are argued in 'planning' terms or the planning considerations are inconclusive or contradictory.

However, to examine the process of objecting to planning applications in greater detail and the relative significance of intervention by the public vis-a-vis the influence of councillors and planning officials two detailed case studies are presented.

(a) Case study A - an 'adult' cinema

Although it is true that many planning applications are potentially localised in impact (two such cases will be reported later)

and therefore the scale of objections by the public is limited, there are instances when this is not so. One such case occurred in 1980 when two London based companies - Bardengold Ltd. and Stonerealm Ltd. applied for planning permission to convert the first floor of a building in the Commercial Road shopping area into an 'adult' cinema club. The premises had previously been used as a residential facility for sailors while on shore leave. The application was turned down by the planning committee largely on the grounds that it was an unsuitable conversion, and the fact that there were also a number of objections from local businesses and members of the public. However, an appeal was lodged against this decision on the basis that purely planning grounds for refusal were lacking and that opposition had been limited.

Towards the end of 1980 - following generous press coverage - the planning office was inundated with letters objecting to the appeal. (13 petitions were also organised, the largest one signed by 90 people and the smaller by 7). A total of 607 letters of objection were sent to the City Planning Officer in the space of just over one month. The residential distribution of objectors is shown on Fig. 5.12 with each dot representing the approximate location of the address. Those remaining anonymous are excluded as are the additional letters of individuals who wrote more than once. The remarkable feature of this response - apart from large numbers involved - was the fact that opposition to this 'noxious' facility was anything but restricted to those living close to it. In fact, only one letter was received from Portsea and very few from Landport, these being the inner city neighbourhoods in closest proximity to Edinburgh Road where the cinema was to be located. In fact, letters poured into the civic offices from outlying parts of the city and indeed from further afield. Little is known for certain of the sort of people who objected to this particular proposal although the fact that 27 letters came from church organisations, and 21 were signed by clergymen indicates the probable role of organised religion in orchestrating this campaign. Few letters were sent from working class/public sector housing areas, for example Paulsgrove. The only evidence that anyone living or working near the proposed site of the cinema was concerned enough to write came from the few letters sent by representatives of three building societies located a few metres away in Edinburgh Road, and from students

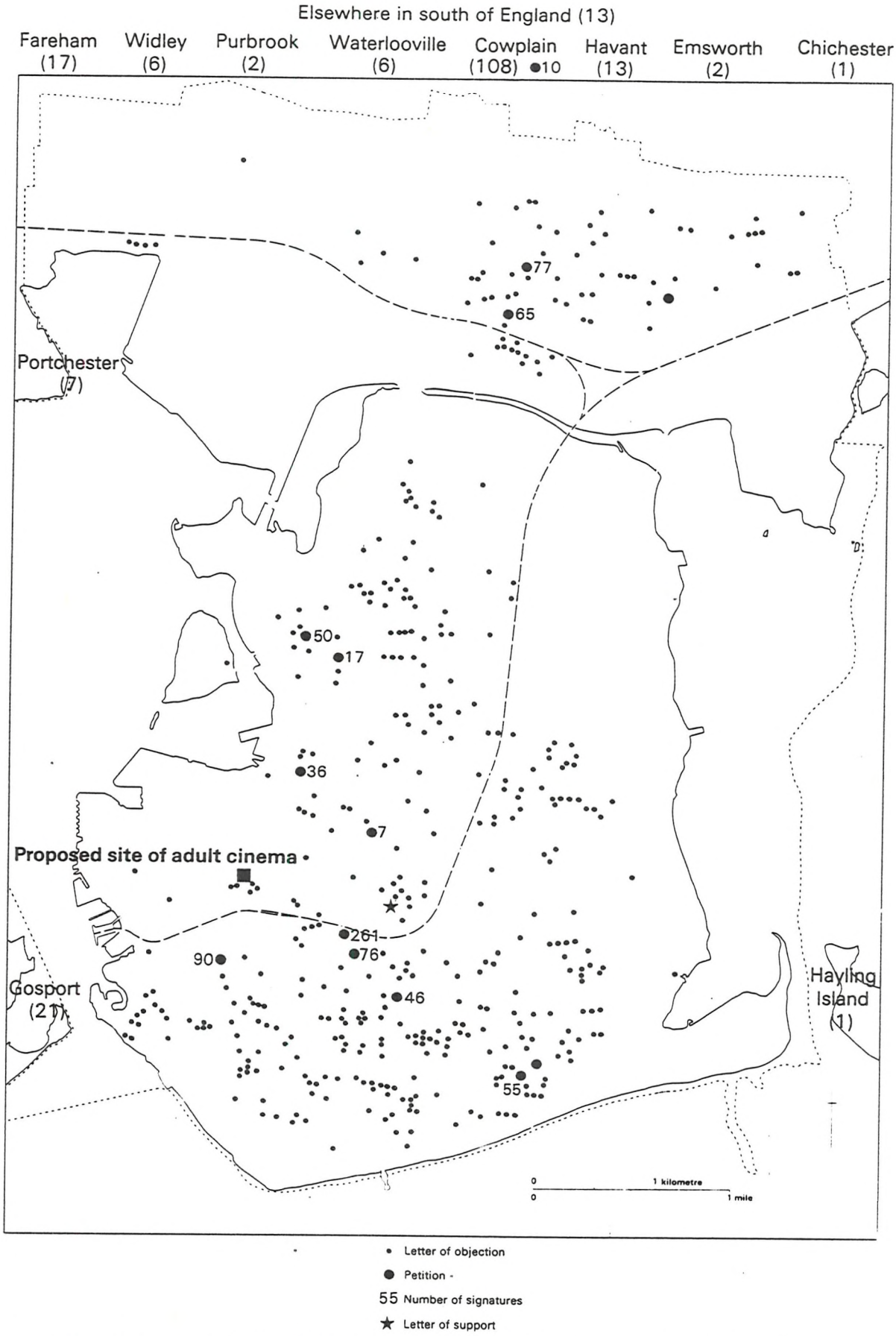


Figure 5.12 Spatial pattern of letters of objection to appeal by applicants for an adult cinema

Source: City Planning Department

accommodated in a hall of residence nearby. The fact that many thousands of shoppers use Commercial Road each week, commuters pass the corner on which the building stands, and the issue received headline treatment in the local press all help to explain the volume and probably the scale of objections.

Arguments employed by objectors were predominantly moral rather than based on planning grounds. Objectors frequently cited the fact that they believed such a 'sex' cinema would undermine moral standards in the city, especially amongst the young. Arguments used in letters included the following - 'such a business will adversely affect the quality of life and lay the students open to the attention of undesirable persons'; 'It would open the gate for further applications which would be difficult to refuse'; 'sexual perversion and crime will increase'; 'detrimental to the area and lead to an increase in the incidence of rape'; 'enough pornography in the city already'; 'do not wish to interfere with people who enjoy these films but feel that it is only the promoters who will gain in money'.

There was a single letter of support from a (male) resident of Fratton but the overwhelming body of people who wrote objected to the appeal and supported the planning committee and council's original decision. Despite the somewhat flimsy planning grounds for refusal the appeal was unsuccessful. In his report accompanying the letter announcing the refusal of the appeal the inspector stated that he was very conscious of the considerable body of opinion in the representations objecting to the proposal. He apparently concurred with the widely held view that the proposal would be out of place in the vicinity, and likely to generate noise and disturbance.

(b) Case study B - hostels for single homeless men

It is generally recognised that ideally hostels should be situated unobtrusively in areas which are residential or have mixed residential and other uses, with reasonable transport and shopping facilities nearby.

The two hostels in question provided interesting contrasts. Proposal A, subject of an application for planning permission in September, 1980, was a three-storey corner property in an area of

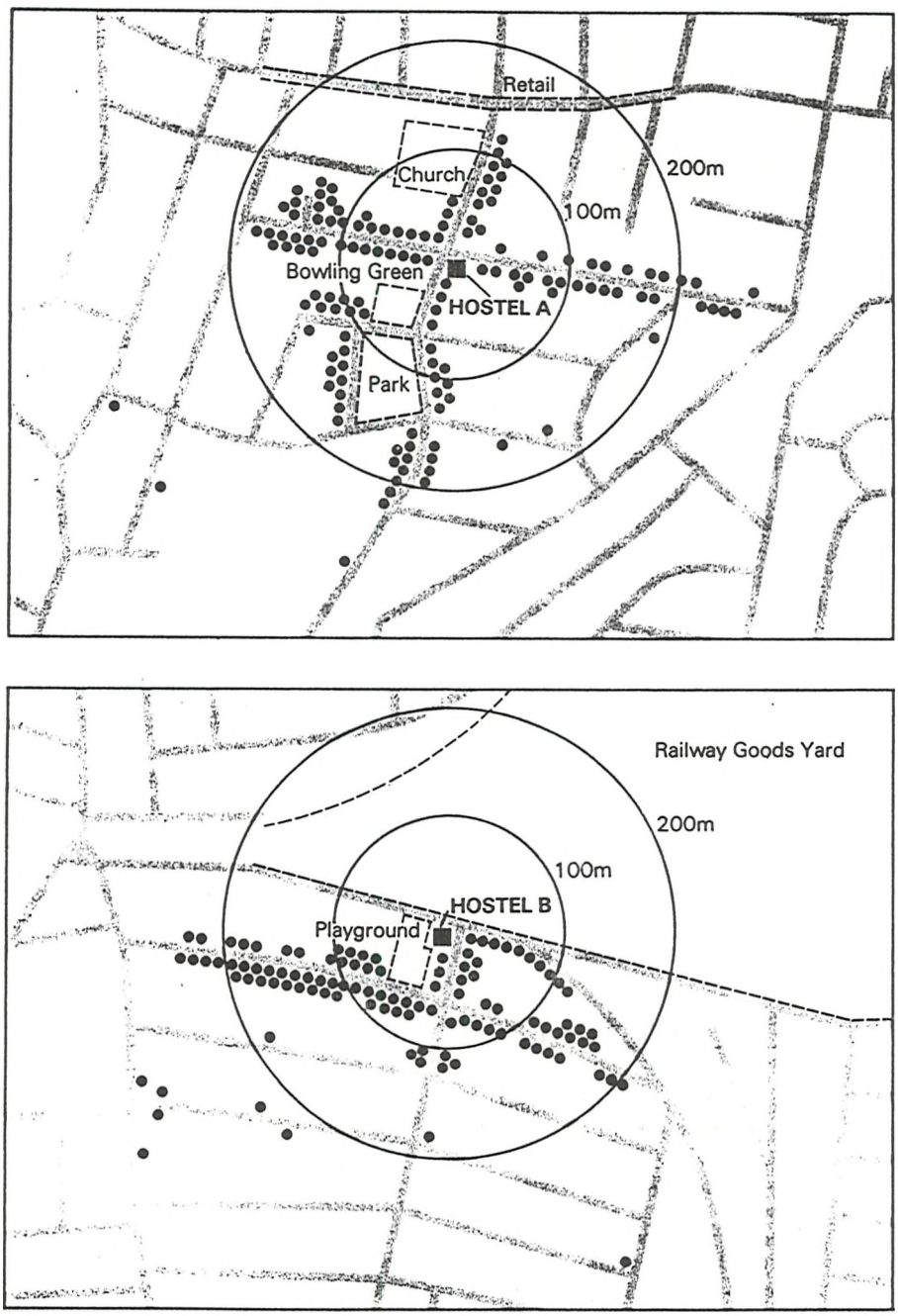


Figure 5.13 Spatial pattern of households objecting to hostel proposals

Source: Burnett and Moon, 1983

early twentieth century housing. The proposed hostel faced a park, and private bowls club, while 150 metres to the north lay an area of shops in Albert Road. The immediate vicinity of the projected facility was characterised by private rented accommodation and guest houses. Site B, proposed in June, 1982, was a delicensed public house, occupying a corner site on a major thoroughfare. Adjacent land-uses included a residential zone with general improvement area status, a children's playground and a railway goods yard. The immediate locale consisted of owner occupied terraced houses. Both facilities were proposed by local organisations catering for the needs of homeless men and, in both cases, finance and reconversion was to be provided by a housing association. Both hostels were to be supervised, though in the case of hostel B, this was to be minimal as residents would be successful participants in a three stage rehabilitation system. Each facility was intended to house approximately 15 men.

Despite their reputation as noxious facilities, hostels do not constitute 'bad neighbours' under planning legislation. The applications were published in the normal way and both generated considerable numbers of objections. Hostel A was opposed by 134 people, while in the case of hostel B, 111 written objections were received. The spatial distribution of these objections exhibited a clearly delineated cluster. In overall terms, the areas from which objections arose were cruciform with objections exhibiting distance-decay along streets adjacent to the facilities. Within 100 metres of hostel A, 40 per cent of households objected, while only 20.19 per cent of households between 100 and 200 metres registered opposition. Of the objections, 7.14 per cent came from beyond 200 metres from the facility. In the case of hostel B, with locally higher levels of owner/occupation, 55.40 per cent of households within 100 metres opposed the facility and 23.07 per cent between 100 and 200 metres, while 13.63 per cent of objections were registered beyond 200 metres from the facility. The dimensions of the area concerned were clearly influenced by land-use. A concentration of opposition to hostel A was located around a small park. Industrial land-uses to the north of hostel B accounted for an absence of opposition in that direction.

In the case of hostel A, the petition organiser lived adjacent to the road junction by the facility. Seemingly isolated outliers of

opposition in both cases were probably personal contacts of those living nearby.

This localised opposition was related to the type of men who, it was thought, would be housed in the facilities. Comments were generally pejorative. 'Degenerate';'undesirable', a fraternity which includes alcoholics, drug addicts....', 'delinquents' and 'drunkards' were among the more graphic descriptions. Only a handful of letters used such adjectives, but local residents clearly considered the potential hostel residents to be persons who would 'loiter' and 'roam around' in their neighbourhoods. One objector deemed the local park a place for '*normal* persons to rest'. The reasons for not wanting a hostel, as expressed in the letters of objection, are summarised in Fig. 5.14.

	Hostel A	Hostel B
Perceived bad character of homeless	9	7
Proximity of schools	4	10
Child safety	7	10
Proximity of children's playground	-	10
Tourism	4	-
Effect on property values	2	4
Existing local problems	-	1
Amenity	7	9
Location in G.I.A.	-	4
Support	2	-
Better alternative site	1	2

Figure 5.14 Content of letters concerning proposed hostels

Source: Burnett and Moon, 1983.

The amenity and safety of local residents was a theme pursued by many letters. Children would be 'molested', 'exposed to a bad example' and 'at risk'. One eight year old child wrote expressing her own fears: 'I am frightened because Mummy told me naughty men may soon move here and I will not be able to play outside'. Guest house proprietors feared alienated visitors and an impact from hostel A which would be 'fatal to trade'. The lowering of property values was specifically mentioned

by six objectors, while others emphasized environmental deterioration including 'cider bottles everywhere' and disturbance on Sundays. A resident two doors from site A feared that her house would be mistaken for the hostel. In general, objectors argued that the type of person to be housed was not to the 'betterment of the area or the safety of residents'.

Specific objections to the scheme also stemmed from the characteristics of the proposed host neighbourhoods. Ten objectors to hostel B, and four to hostel A mentioned the presence of schools in the area. Local children were mentioned by 17 objectors, with ten specifically noting the proximity of the children's playground to hostel B. A negative impact was feared on areas deemed 'highly rated' in the case of proposal A, and 'densely populated' for proposal B. The G.I.A. status of the area surrounding hostel B was sited and four objectors claimed that their area was being saturated with noxious facilities and social problems including a football stadium, a chemist's shop used by drug addicts and a hostel for women. It should be noted in passing that few of the arguments used in these representations constituted legitimate planning grounds for objection.

A few objectors were more positive, suggesting alternative sites such as 'a more secluded location out of town'. Only two letters offered support, both concerning hostel A. One supporter took exception to the 'callous and venal attitude of some of my neighbours in objecting' and saw 'no reason why these people should not be welcomed'. The other supporter, a general practitioner, stated 'in my experience the vast majority are law abiding.... they are no more of a nuisance than students or sailors'.

Councillors for the electoral wards concerned opposed both facilities during planning committee deliberations and full council debates on the proposals. An influential ex-Lord Mayor referred to hostel A thus:

> 'We know there is good in many of these men, but we also know some of them are not particular angels and incidents do occur. The duty of this committee is to protect the area.... you don't put a major social problem into a tourist area with hotels and guest houses'.

After considerable indecision by councillors and a 19-18 vote in the city council meeting of August, 1982, hostel B was duly rejected; however, a later almost identical application was approved two months later. The chairman of the planning committee noted the dilemma between 'supporting residents or a highly respected organisation' (St. Petroc's Trust). Ward councillors were more forthright, one arguing that 'an old pub is not the best home for men facing a drink problem' and another that 'residential amenity in what was already a blight area would be adversely affected'. The Conservative leader of the council stated, 'If you are in a situation where inadequacy becomes a privilege we will be in trouble. We live in a trendy liberal country where trendy liberals are fashionable. I hope members uphold the feelings of the public'. The recommendation from planning officers in both cases was that there were no overriding planning grounds for refusing planning permission. In hostel A councillors overruled this advice but in the case of hostel B it was eventually and reluctantly taken.

The limited and localised opposition by residents to the location of these two hostels shows that such interventions can succeed. Certainly the fears expressed by objectors were those which are frequently raised in such conflicts (Dear and Taylor, 1982). Those living or making a living close to proposed facilities, would hardly be expected to welcome such hostels warmly. When they manage to enlist the support of influential councillors in their campaigns they stand a reasonable chance of success whatever the professional judgements of planners may be. Writing letters of objection in relation to planning applications is clearly encouraged by the publicity given to such proposals. The precise pattern of this form of participation, however, is not entirely predictable. Itis evident that localised opposition does usually come from the immediate locality although not *all* neighbours protest. When the noxious facility is opposed on other grounds than amenity as has been seen in the case of the adult cinema, opposition may come from far and wide. From the evidence of these case studies the number of objections is as significant as the planning arguments (or lack of them) contained in letters from the public. Unless planning considerations are paramount, for example, if an application is clearly contrary to provisions of a local plan, there is scope for

successful intervention by the public and elected representatives.

(v) Deputations to the City Council

At its meetings held every six weeks in the Guildhall, the city council has a varied and lengthy agenda. This includes receiving such communications as the Lord Mayor desires to lay before it, debating written questions and motions submitted by councillors, considering any report from the leader of the council on matters of urgent importance, debating and voting on recommendations of its committees and, until recently, *receiving deputations*. Although many matters have been discussed fully at previous committee meetings and party groups will have already met to decide their 'line' in important issues, nonetheless it is of course at council meetings that most municipal decisions are formally made. On such occasions the press are in attendance and the galleries are open to the public.

The council meeting is the stage on which senior councillors of the controlling Conservative group announce, explain and justify their policies and decisions. Councillors of minority parties commonly attempt to discomfort committee chairs, discredit the plans and criticise the actions of the ruling group. The public galleries at the council chamber in Portsmouth are rarely full. Generally apart from a few regular 'council watchers' the announcements, speeches and voting go largely unwitnessed although 'leading' issues are reported fairly fully in the local newspaper the following day.

The only point in the council proceedings at which the public are permitted to participate directly in council meetings is (or rather was until May, 1982) by attending as deputations. (Hecklers in the public gallery are warned and if persistent have been known to be expelled from the chamber). Under standing orders (given certain constraints of subject and time) individuals or groups of Portsmuthians were at liberty to address the assembled council on matters which concerned them. Most deputations sought to influence decisions of the council to be taken in relation to its committees' recommendations. What form did these deputations take, and why were they permitted or encouraged? What issues were raised, by whom and on whose behalf? How often were deputations in conflict or agreement on a specific issue? How far did individual councillors 'guide' deputations and what was the response of

of the council to their demands? Were purely symbolic gestures accorded towards members of the public who were being affected by a policy or decision or were minds actually changed and recommendations overturned as a result of such interventions? What proportion of deputations attained a favourable outcome and why did some succeed and others fail to make any impact?

In this section, answers will be sought to these questions. On the basis of detailed scrutiny of council minutes the patterns of the 100 or so deputations presented in the period 1976 - May, 1982 (when the city council decided to discontinue the practice) will be analysed. The history, issues, referents, volume, spatial distribution, and outcomes of deputations will be outlined and the possible functions served by allowing the public to send deputations will be discussed.

Such 'public influence' attempts in Ann Arbour, it will be recalled, were studied by Davidson (Chapter IV), who found that the practice was encouraged and that numerous people spoke on their own behalf or groups of residents. Just over half of the issues raised were city-wide in character while the rest were more localised in scale and mainly comprised land-use conflicts. The distribution of such demand-making was uneven. Social composition and housing tenure were only weakly associated with high levels of public influence attempts. Davidson did not record outcomes.

(a) History

The tradition of sending letters and petitions which were read out at council meetings was established in Portsmouth in the mid-19th century. Under the 1882 standing orders, 'memorials' and official communications were permitted. The practice of deputations was established in the 1920s with ratepayer's groups often reading letters out in highly deferential tones. Letters of support as well as complaints were also not uncommon. Minor changes were made continuously in the format by which deputations were permitted. In the 1930s a 15 minutes aggregate maximum time was stipulated for each deputation, and in 1970 it was decided that deputations were only to be received by the council in very urgent circumstances, and then only at the discretion of the council. Throughout the 1970s standing orders were modified to tidy up the conditions by which deputations were allowed.

By 1974 the procedure had been established whereby the City Secretary was to receive notice of an intended deputation by the noon of the Friday week preceeding the council meeting. A further revision was made in 1978 when it was laid down that no deputation was to be received if the subject was not referred to in a minute which was before the council for approval. Thus the Portsmouth City Council (and its committees) has long received public communications at their meetings, albeit under varying conditions. Latterly these have included deputations.

(b) Procedure and practice

If a member of the public or a group of citizens wished to appear as a deputation before the city council during the study period a written request had to be submitted to the City Secretary before the Friday prior to the following (Tuesday) meeting. If it concerned either a recommendation by a council committee (or up to 1978) a motion submitted by a councillor it was automatically placed on the agenda, and in practice accepted. Only one deputation was actually refused during the period under study. If it was received by the City Secretary too late under standing orders it had to be deemed very urgent to be accepted. (Likewise if it was unrelated to matters before the council it had to be deemed urgent and exceptional).

Councillors were notified of the names of prospective deputations and the subject matter before they held their party agenda meetings. These private groups meetings are held by the Labour Party on Friday evening and by the Conservative Party on the Monday evening prior to the council meeting.

While the preliminaries of the council meetings are undergone, deputations waited anxiously in the foyer. After questions under Standing Order 19 had been answered by the Leader of the Council and committee chairs they were ushered (in turn) into the Chamber. They were greeted and invited to address the council from in front of the Lord Mayor's podium. 10 minutes was allowed for each deputation to read a statement or make a speech. Deputations were invariably thanked courteously and assured that their representations would be taken into consideration. They generally then withdrew to the public gallery and listened to the proceedings. Sporadic expression of their feelings

in the form of clapping and shouting was not unknown.

(c) Issues

A total of *111 deputations* were presented to Portsmouth City Council in the late 1970s and early 1980s concerned with a total of *78 different issues*. There were minor annual fluctuations in the total number of issues, and their scale, what policy area, type of locational conflict in local issues, and type of output were involved (Fig. 5.15(a)).

	Nr.	Scale	
		City Wide	Local
1976	10	3	7
1977	15	3	12
1978	14	2	12
1979	7	2	12
1980	10	1	9
1981	18	9	9
1982 (to May)	4	3	1
	78	23	55

Policy Area	Local	City Wide	Total
Planning	29	-	29
Transport	9	7	16
Recreation	7	3	10
Housing	6	4	10
Miscellaneous	2	8	10
Educational/ Health	2	1	3

Types of locational conflicts in *local* issues	
Noxious facility or change in land use	35
Service delivery	7
Salutory facilities	7
Road regulations	5
Miscellaneous	1

Type of output		
Regulative	50	(e.g. control of dogs, circuses, parking prohibition orders, planning applications for change in use)
Allocative	19	(e.g. funds for theatre, new library, refuse service)
Extractive	9	(e.g. bus fare, council rent increases)

Figure 5.15(a) Issues generating deputations 1976-82

Source: City Council Minutes

City-wide issues, or those affecting more than one neighbourhood, included bus fares, council house rents, cycleways, designation of the city as a nuclear free zone, and the possible screening of the film 'The Beast'. More localised issues were however numerous. Many involved the location of facilities and changes in land use which are primarily of interest to a given neighbourhood only. The spatial distribution of local issues which resulted in deputations to the city council is far from even. While most neighbourhoods generated only a few issues, Southsea even allowing for its larger population and area had a disproportionate amount of the total. Issues in Milton (6) and inner city Buckland and Landport (8) also featured in the pleas of general deputations.

Virtually all *local* issues were those which commonly generate locational conflicts. 35 out of a total of 55 involved the location of a facility deemed, usually by those living close to it, as adversely affecting their amenity or a change in land-use which was thought to have some negative impact.

The built environment of Southsea, with its densely populated and varied character which include shopping centres, bed-sitter belt, and zone of guest houses, generated conflicts over land-use and changes in the functions of buildings. The conversion of large dwellings into homes for the elderly, of unused cinemas into supermarkets, and in particular, the demolition of the Cumberland Road area to make way for the North-South Road Stage III, were the focus of deputations from groups of the public to the city council. The newly developed Buckland Estate in the inner-city, and proposals for the open space of Milton also generated deputations. However, other districts in the city were relatively devoid of issues generating deputations, notably the high status semi-detached and detached north eastern suburbs of Farlington and Drayton, and Old Portsmouth. While issues do arise in such neighbourhoods deputations are not the chosen channel of demand-making of those concerned.

Figure 5.15(a) also indicates what type of public outputs are involved. In all cases *public* authorities are involved (normally the city council) although some developments were being proposed by private companies and individuals. The majority of issues revolved round support

for / opposition to, official *regulations*. Other issues comprised the council allocation of resources and services, and only nine were about fares and rents. As far as the typology of all issues by policy area is concerned it can be seen a large majority of issues can be classed as 'planning' and in fact arrive on the city council's agenda by way of its planning committee.

Finally, some 17 issues generated more than one deputation. In eight of these, deputations were in conflict and in the other nine cases the deputations made similar demands (Fig. 5.15(b)).

(d) Nature of deputations

Given that the number of *issues* varied from year to year, it is only to be expected that the total annual number of *deputations* should vary. Again, 1977, 1978 and 1981 were years which recorded a greater level and intensity of such activity (Fig. 5.15(c)). Certainly when in May, 1982, deputations to council meetings ceased there was no evidence of a slackening in the pace of the volume of deputations - if anything the reverse - particularly in relation to city wide issues.

As indicated in Fig. 5.15(d) only 21 out of 111 deputations were led by 'professional' personnel - estate agents, solicitors and the like - acting on behalf of the public. The majority of deputations were represented by the officers or members of organisations (political parties, neighbourhood associations, local branches of national bodies, and other local organisations). Ordinary members of the public spoke on no less than 37 occasions. These included organisers of protest groups - parents, tenants, property owners, who were evidently sufficiently angered, upset or worried to organise a deputation and speak for up to ten minutes to the assembled councillors. The organisations and groups shown in Fig. 5.15(d) represent a cross section of those commonly concerned with urban political issues, and to which, as will be seen later in this chapter and in the next, members of the public belong. While a small minority of deputations were single handed efforts, in most cases their group interventions, i.e. several individuals spoke or were present, on behalf of others.

Fig. 5.15(e) shows that all but eight of the deputations were either supporting or (more frequently) opposing committee recommendations.

Issues over which deputations made conflicting demands (and outcomes)

1. Fluoridation of city's water supply (medical and dental profession v. Dental Milk Foundation +)
2. Extension to Sports Centre (Sports Council v. local residents +)
3. Planning permission for rebuilding of public house (developers + v. local residents)
4. Planning permission for change of use of restaurant (owners + v. local residents)
5. Extension to independent R.C. secondary school (Trustees + v. local residents)
6. Change of use of caravan site (Developer + v. residents)
7. Change of use of caravan site (Developer + v. residents)
8. Use of animals in circuses (Association of Circus Proprietors v. residents +)

\+ = successful outcome

Issues over which several deputations made same demands

	Issue	No. of deputations	Type of Deputations
1.	Supermarket	2	Developers & shop proprietors
2.	Short life housing	3	Three housing organisations
3.	No waiting order	2	Two groups of residents
4.	North-South Road, Stage III	2	Professional surveyor and residents
5.	Planning permission for factory	5	Four traders and one residents association
6.	Increase in bus fares	3	Two pro bus organisations and group of users
7.	Change in bus service	4	Bus action group, Cosham residents, trade union
8.	Site of Mary Rose Museum	2	Two preservation societies
9.	Changes to direct labour organisation	2	Two trade unions

Figure 5.15(b) Issues generating multiple deputations

Source: City Council Minutes

	Total	City-wide issues	Local issues
1976	12	4	8
1977	18	3	15
1978	22	2	20
1979	11	2	9
1980	17	3	14
1981	27	14	13
1982 to May	4	4	1
	111	31	80

Figure 5.15(c) Deputations

Source: City Council Minutes.

'personal' representation	90	single representation	47
'professional' representation	21	multiple representation	64

		Examples
Political parties	4	The Labour Party
Trade unions	6	TGWU
Councillors	2	Havant Councillors
Tenants'/residents' associations	10	GIA residents' committees
Employers' organisations	4	North End traders
Professional bodies	5	Architects
Local branches of national pressure groups	9	Portsmouth Branch CND
Protest groups	37	Parents of Somers Road First School
Local organisations	17	Portsmouth Society, Bus Action Group
Local companies/shops	9	Whitbreads Wessex Ltd.
Individual owners/applicants	8	

Figure 5.15(d) Type of deputations

Source: City Council Minutes.

No. of deputations supporting committee recommendations	25	
	22	(+)
	2	(-)
No. of deputations opposing/objecting to committee recommendations	78	
	17	(+)
	61	(-)

\+ = successful outcome

\- = unsuccessful outcome

Figure 5.15(e) Demands, council committee recommendations, and outcomes where known

Source: City Council Minutes

That is, they are reacting to committee decisions. We should not be surprised to find that those supporting committee recommendations tended to be more successful. The twenty five deputations in this category were there to make sure that councillors who had not been members of those committees which had already been persuaded to support their demands would not overturn their colleagues decisions. In contrast, the opportunity to try one last appeal to the city council was obviously the main objective of the seventy eight deputations who had either failed to intervene or make their influence felt at the earlier committee stages. The few deputations unrelated to committee recommendations on the agenda were more idiosyncratic, and seem to have been tolerated by the council due to their novelty and originality, e.g. the three grammar school boys (prompted by their civics master?) who condemned the use of Southsea Common for bus parking.

(e) Outcomes

Was the time and effort put in by those organising and participating in deputations rewarded? Given that in many cases other forms of public and private tactics had also been used in the period leading to council meetings it is impossible to assert or prove that any deputation directly caused a particular council decision and action. All that can be shown is that certain demands presented in the form of deputations resulted in

a favourable outcome and others were apparently rebuffed. As already noted deputations were received by the council on all but one occasion (on 5th February, 1982, the council refused to receive a deputation from Portsmouth CND on the grounds that adequate provision for their views had already been made on a previous occasion). Councillors at the very least listened patiently to the short address of those members of the public standing before them. They invariably resolved that the representations be taken into account if, and when, the item was resolved later in the meeting.

From the minutes of council meetings, press reports and other sources a record of the outcomes was obtained in all but a few cases. Some firm conclusions can be drawn about the sort of deputations and demands to which the council ultimately decided to respond favourably. First, from Fig. 5.15(b) we see that when *several* deputations made identical demands to the council relating to an issue this did not guarantee success (in fact quite the opposite: eight out of nine failed). Secondly, councils do not normally alter their committees' recommendations (they are after all controlled by the same party). Thus supportive deputations succeeded more often than critical ones (Fig. 5.15(e)).

Thirdly, Fig. 5.15(f) shows clearly that deputations which sought to tackle city wide policy issues, for example, bus fares, the export of live animals through the municipal ferry port, council house rents, and the creation of a nuclear free zone for the city, were notably unsuccessful. Only four cases did such deputations win their case; they included an organisation which opposed fluoridation of the city's water supply; a local pro-dog group whose pressure helped to shelve a proposal to ban dogs from selected parks and open spaces; and citizens who mounted a campaign to ban circuses with live animals from using Southsea Common. If such 'city wide' policy issues were largely immune from this form of public pressure then it might be anticipated that decisions involving single buildings would be more susceptible to influence than those concerned for affected by a larger group or area. Fig. 5.15(g) shows this to be the case for the 49 local issues in which there were no conflicting deputations involved. Thus deputations were successful in 19 cases out of 29 when a specific facility was involved, but only four out of 14 broader scale issues at stake. Fourthly there

Issues	Group/area affected	Outcome
Fluoridation of water	All	Drs. & Dentists (-) Foundation (+)
Cycleway	Cyclists	(-)
Recycling of waste paper	Householders	(-)
Council house rent rise	Council tenants	(-)
Neglect of houses	Houseowners/totters	(-)
Direct works section	council employees	(-)
Export of live animals for slaughter	Shipping companies/ dock employees	(-)
Control of dogs	Dog owners	(+)
Bus travel concessions	Bus users	(-)
Bus far increases	Bus users	(-)
Bus fare increases	Bus users	(-)
Council house rent increase	Council tenants	(-)
Bus fare	Bus users	(-)
X film	Cinema goers	(+)
Export of live animals	Shipping companies/ dock employees	(-)
Bus service alterations	Bus users	(-)
Circuses	Circus goers	Circus proprietors (-) Public (+)
Portsmouth as nuclear free zone	All residents/ visitors/employees	(-)
Direct works section	Council employees	(-)
Council house rents	Council tenants	(-)
Refuse service	Householders	(-)
Bus fares	Bus users	(-)
Retention of industry	Industrial employees/ employers	(-)

+ = successful outcome - = unsuccessful outcome

Figure 5.15(f) Referents and outcomes of deputations over city-wide issues

Source: City Council Minutes

Individual premises/building/facility (29)	+ 19 - 2
Street (6)	+ 1 - 5
Neighbourhood/district (14)	+ 4 - 9

Figure 5.15(g) Outcomes of 49 non-conflicting local issues (where known)

Source: City Council Minutes

are yet other determinants of the success or failure of demand-making by deputations such as the nature of the issue concerned and the sort of output demanded (Fig. 5.15(h)). Deputations which demanded changes in allocative decisions - generally involving additional expenditure - do not seem to have been generally successful. It can be seen also that trade unions, neighbourhood associations and local branches of national organisations would appear to be less successful than other types of deputations, especially those which involved (1) issue-specific, *ad hoc* groups of the public; (2) individual applicants (in planning issues), and (3) local organisations (Fig. 5.15(i)). Here success or lack of it can be traced to features of the local political system. First, a council controlled by the Conservative Party would not be expected to be overly sympathetic to the demands of trade unions. Secondly, that purely *local* organisations received a more favourable hearing than ones with national connections can be attributed to the fact that *local* residents (voters) were being directly affected by council plans and policies. They therefore received special attention, and in more cases, a favourable outcome. Insights into the factors contributing to the effectiveness and impact of deputations can also be gained from more detailed case studies. One such is briefly analysed here by way of illustration.

The residents of the municipally owned Henderson Road Caraven site were alarmed at council proposals to develop the site for alternative purposes. A campaign to secure the tenure of caravan occupiers and improve the site was mounted with the help of local councillors. This campaign included a major public meeting attended by over 100 people,

Change in land use/ noxious facility (35)	+ 19 - 15	Types of output -	
Service delivery (7)	+ 2 - 4	Regulative (42)	+ 20 - 22
Salutary facility (7)	+ 5 - 1	Allocative (19)	+ 7 - 12
Road regulations (5)	+ 1 - 5	Extractive (9)	+ 1 - 8
Miscellaneous (1)	- 1	Total non-conflicting city-wide local issues	70
Total	55		

+ = successful outcome - = unsuccessful outcome

Figure 5.15(h) Nature of local issue/type of output demanded and outcome (where known)

Source: City Council Minutes

Political parties (4)	+ 2 - 2	Public (37)	+ 13 - 22
Trade Unions (6)	+ 0 - 6	Local organisations (17)	+ 7 - 8
Neighbourhood Associations (10)	+ 2 - 9	(local) companies/ shops (9)	+ 2 - 7
Employees groups (4)	+ 2 - 2	Owners/applicants (9)	+ 7 - 1
Professional groups (5)	+ 3 - 2		
Local branches of	+ 1 - 7	(Total 111)	

+ = successful outcome - = unsuccessful outcome

Figure 5.15(i) Types of deputations and outcomes (where known)

Source: City Council Minutes

and was followed by informal talks between the chairs of several committees, senior officers, and the leader of the council. At the council meeting on 20th February, 1980, a deputation made an impassioned plea to save the caravan site and, amply forewarned, the leader of the council made an official statement to reassure residents (Appendix B). Elderly tenants of the site, who were present in the public gallery were relieved to hear the leader of the council state that the earlier decision to develop the site would be reviewed. Undoubtedly the decision had been made *before* the council meeting and before the deputation arrived and was obviously influenced by the views expressed at the public meeting and the informal talks held subsequently. Nonetheless the *threat* of a well publicised deputation and the actual appearance of two elderly but determined ladies may well have swayed senior councillors and ensured a success for the deputation.

(f) The demise of deputations to the city council

As far as the practice of sending deputations to the planning and transportation committees was concerned we have already seen that the city council decided to continue the practice (section iv). In May, 1982, however, the right to address the full council by deputation was removed by a revision of the council's standing orders. Councillors argued that the right had been misused and had prolonged council meetings unnecessarily. Reaction to this announcement was muted although a leader of a local bus action group which had previously been involved in deputations enlisted the support of the National Council of Civil Liberties, the Portsmouth Society, and a number of local associations in trying to get this decision reversed. A letter urging the council to restore the right of public deputation to the city council, was merely referred to the council's administrative sub-committee. A catch-22 situation existed because of course, since by this stage such deputations had been outlawed, there were no deputations in the chamber to argue the case. Even senior Labour Party councillors, wearied by the length of successive council meetings, and mindful that the practice was still permitted at committee meetings, were unwilling to champion the cause.

Why then did Portsmouth City Council suddenly end such a long standing tradition? After all, listening publicly to deputations afforded councillors an opportunity to demonstrate that they were

attentive to views of the public and thereby a chance to build support amongst their constituents and the electorate as a whole. Whether they acceded to the demands of deputations or not the practice did provide an opportunity for elected members, and those senior officials who were in attendance, to be seen to be keeping in touch with ratepayers, tenants and local organisations. Furthermore, supporters of the deputations in the public gallery often swelled the rather sparse numbers normally present. The possible reason for this change of heart was that councillors, especially senior Conservative Party members, increasingly perceived deputations as irritating interruptions in meetings which already had long agendas. The increasingly strident tone of what they considered to be radical deputations, protesting over, for example, proposed increases in bus fares and cutbacks in services may have further alienated them. Another factor was the emergence of a growing number of city wide issues, which some councillors felt were being 'used' to discomfort them and question agreed policies. Senior councillors felt that the potential benefits - gaining support by listening attentively to the public, and the opportunity to assess the strength of public opinion on controversial issues were outweighed by the costs.

In conclusion then more than 100 deputations appeared before the Portsmouth City Council in a little over six years. Given that these meetings started at 2 p.m. and often lasted well into the evening, the time taken up by deputations was small - 10-15 minutes, occasionally half-an-hour. During this time problems, grievances, and demands which varied very greatly in character were the subject of addresses made by the public. The majority of issues were local - at a neighbourhood or street scale rather than affecting the whole city. A number had been discussed on previous occasions since they involved major long standing conflicts which opponents of council policies used a multitude of tactics to attempt to influence events, for example, over the issues of Eastney Marina, the demolition of the Cumberland Road area, and bus services and fares. It is unlikely that members of the public who spoke to the assembled councillors on these occasions actually thought that they would actually overturn either a committee's recommendation (relatively few actually did so) or well established council commitments. The main purpose of the exercise was to make a last appeal (or gesture of defiance) which would at the very least bring the issue to the attention of

councillors (literally face to face) and, through local press reports, to a wider public. Occasionally 'supportive' deputations also appeared to reinforce agreed committee decisions - to ensure that the full council would concur with a committee's recommendations. (There were occasions when the constituency interests of more junior majority party councillors tempted them to ignore the party whip and speak and vote in support of minority party resolutions). In a few cases there was a sequence of tactics used which culminated in a deputation to a council meeting having the effect of reversing or modifying an earlier decision, for example, the Henderson Road Caravan site.

The two key variables which determined the success of deputations' influence on official policies and decisions were firstly the scale of the policy issue at stake - minor localised ones being most successful - and secondly, whether or not, a deputation supported or opposed a committee recommendation. A combination of these factors was crucial, whereas a number of deputations making a particular demand, what sort of organisations were involved, their style (and probably the merits of their arguments) were less important.

However deputations ought not to be seen in isolation with respect to some of the more controversial issues in which they were involved they represented merely the 'tip of the iceberg' of demand-making. Such public influence attempts rarely started with a deputation rather they represented the final stage in an attempt to exert pressure on the council often over long running disputes. Once they had got over their initial nerves deputations may have got some satisfaction out of appearing in front of the Lord Mayor and the full council. At least the occasion gave them yet another chance to put their side of the story to a captive audience of influential people, and the press. For their part, councillors listened courteously but rarely changed their minds - or the way they voted - as a result of what they hard. On such occasions when a committee recommendation was reversed, it was unlikely that it was the deputation per se which was *solely* responsible for altering a decision or policy. The symbolic function performed by deputations to the city council should also not be ignored. Members of the public being seen fulfilling their democratic right to be heard before the city council.

(vi) Neighbourhood associations

British neighbourhood associations were referred to earlier in Chapter III. This section briefly outlines the origins and distribution of neighbourhood associations which existed in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Portsmouth and presents an analysis of the functions they performed and demands they made. (A more thorough, systematic, examination of such organisations was hindered by the fact that the records of certain organisations were incomplete, and in other cases access was refused to them. However, a complementary and more detailed study of residents' committees in general improvement areas is presented in Chapter VII. The part played by neighbourhood organisations in the housing department's joint consultative body is subjected to detailed scrutiny in Chapter VIII).

Before examining neighbourhood associations it is worth mentioning the Portsmouth Society which was founded in 1973. It has operated for over a decade as an amenity society concerned primarily with the planning issues and the conservation and preservation of buildings deemed to be of historical and architectural merit. It vets planning applications closely and often gives evidence at public enquiries. Its executive committee is made up of predominantly Labour (in some cases now SDP) councillors and candidates, and its membership is predominantly middle-class. The distribution of its membership in 1982 is shown in Fig. 5.16(a) clearly indicating that the society draws the bulk of its support from Southsea with small numbers also living in East Cosham and Old Portsmouth. Not surprisingly given the distribution of conservation areas within the city (Fig. 7.1) and the residential location of its membership, most issues raised by the society related to the southern part of the city including Southsea Common/Seafront, its Georgian areas, and Old Portsmouth and Portsea. Because of its professional ethos it is treated with some respect by planners in the city. Conservative Party politicians, however, tend to treat it with disdain and label it as an alternative, unrepresentative city council.

A total of 11 neighbourhood organisations are known to have been in existance in the period 1976-82, the majority coming into being during the 1970s, although the Friends of Old Portsmouth and the Paulsgrove Tenants' Association were formed earlier. Some associations were formed



Figure 5.16(a) Spatial distribution of Portsmouth society members, 1982

Source: The Portsmouth Society

in response to environmental threats and others to press for amenities or to combat specific defects such as dampness on new residential estates. In association - in Portsea - owed its foundation, at least in part, to officials in Portsmouth's planning and leisure services' departments who were anxious to have a recognized body of residents with whom to consult. A similar 'external' impetus produced the Stamshaw and Tipner neighbourhood council, formed on the initiative of a local clergyman and the representative of a London organization.

The distribution of neighbourhood associations shown in Fig. 5.16(b) reveals that the organizations were concentrated on the western side of Portsea Island, and on the suburban mainland. Council estates were well represented, as were high-status areas such as Old Portsmouth. It is evident that neighbourhoods with clear physical boundaries tended to have associations which corresponds to the findings of Davidson in Ann Arbor. In Portsmouth, some of the perceived communities identified by Hall (197) were represented by residents' or tenants' associations.

(a) Organization and membership

Virtually all the associations had detailed written constitutions covering aims, elections, functions of committees and officers, meetings, subscriptions, and membership. The majority had executive committees comprising officers who played an influential part in the affairs of their associations. These activists were (often reluctantly) recruited from the membership; and although a minority remained in office indefinitely, the general pattern was of a steady turnover. This turnover was even more marked among committee members, especially in tenants' associations and on the council estates. Resignation from office was common because of disagreements on tactics, family and work commitments, moving house, and personality conflicts. It seems that cost of active participation frequently outweighed the benefits of leading such organizations.

The occupational composition of committees varied depending on the sort of area represented. Whereas affluent areas frequently had solicitors among their officials, in working-class neighbourhoods it was trade unionists, clergymen, and housewives who predominated. Officers were the key activists who directed the fortunes of the organizations and decided which issues should be pursued and by what means. The

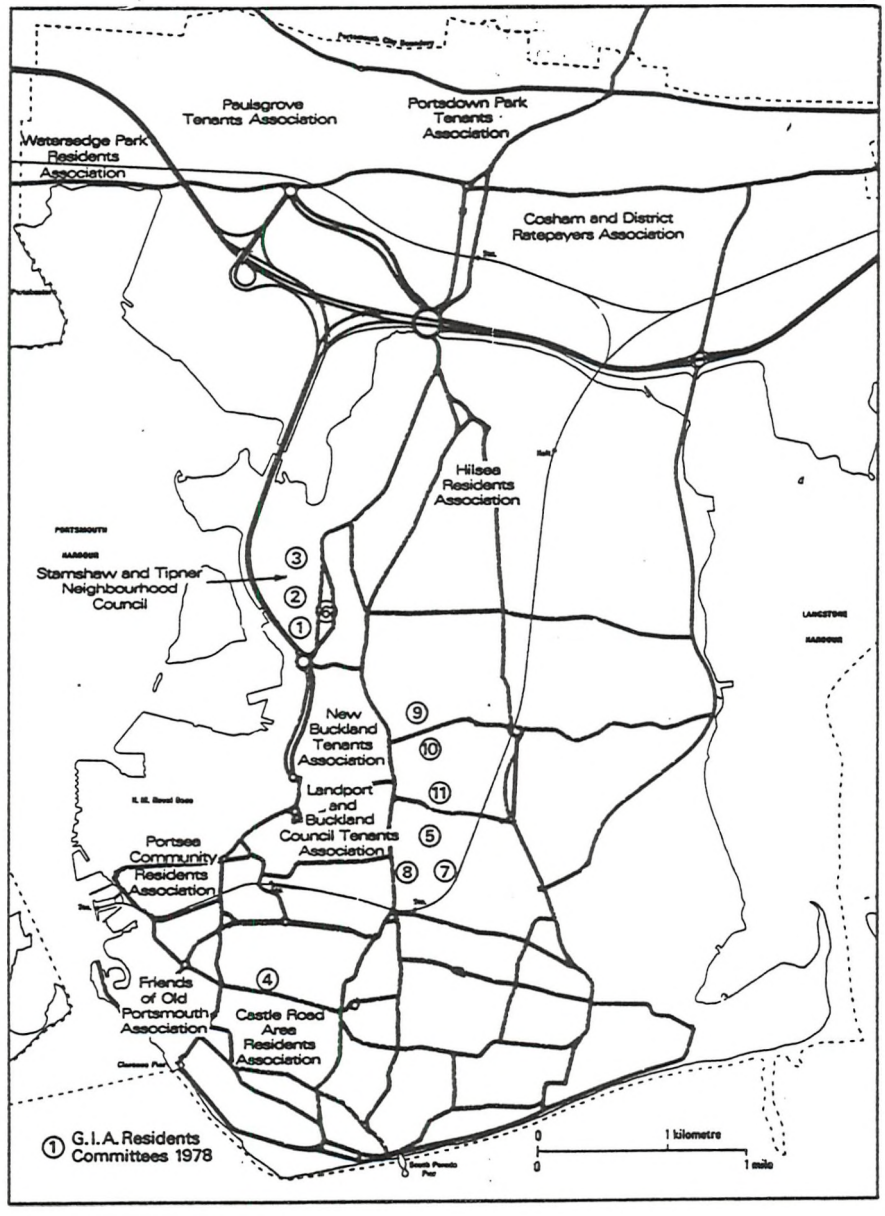


Figure 5.16(b) The distribution of neighbourhood associations

Source: Burnett and Hill, 1982

members, by contrast, played a much more passive role. For example, less than 10 per cent of residents voted in Stamshaw and Tipner neighbourhood council elections. Meetings were generally sparsely attended.

There were thus contrasts between associations evident in type and size of their areas, their membership and the socio-economic composition of committees, but the most striking feature of the 11 associations was the similarity of their aims. They all acted as neighbourhood watchdogs and local pressure groups. Some differences in the issues they raised, how, to whom, and to what effect were discernable.

(b) Issues

The literature suggests that the prime issues for residents' associations are the quantity and quality of public services, locational conflicts, the regulation of antisocial behaviour, and a wide range of quality-of-life concerns. In South-East Hampshire, from inner city to outer suburb, threats to the neighbourhood were resisted by such associations. For example, in the prestigious Old Portsmouth, residents opposed the extension of the YMCA, demanded that the busy cross-Solent ferry terminal be relocated, and urged that a former electricity power station site be used for private housing. The residents of inner-city Portsea by contrast pressed for council houses to be built on a former site of a bakery. Buckland's association opposed the widening of an urban motorway because it would mean the demolition of houses and the loss of part of a school playground; the rebuilding and extension of a public house; and the re-zoning of residential land for factory units. The Stamshaw neighbourhood council pressed for the conversion of a former factory into a leisure centre and supported the city council's efforts to remove a group of garages, warehouses, and workshops that frequently violated local by-laws. In contrast, the suburbs *outside* the city boundaries, open space was defended against residential and industrial development. For example, Hayling Island residents' association opposed large-scale house building, and Bedhampton residents fought a proposed leisure complex and a hypermarket. Residents' associations in Havant were particularly active in fighting proposals by Portsmouth to build additional council estates.

The quantity and quality of public services seem to have been particularly important in areas where residents were more dependent on public rather than on private provision. In Paulsgrove, Portsdown Park and Portsea, complaints were registered about the staff, equipment, and siting of public facilities. Dissatisfaction was also evident in such cases over housing allocation and repairs, supervision by wardens, street cleaning, snow clearance, fire precautions, road maintenance, secondary school allocation, bus services, and rubbish collection. These bread-and-butter issues lacked the drama of more politicized locational conflicts, but they obviously were important to residents and figured predominantly on the agendas of these associations.

In private housing areas, neighbourhood associations were more concerned with environmental aspects of local amenities such as visual intrusion, and traffic congestion. An environmentally detracting boat-building yard in Old Portsmouth, a meat-products factory at Portchester, and a processed-food factory near Watersedge Park were all long-standing issues which preoccupied those involved.

Broader political and financial issues were also in evidence. These included proposed changes in the boundaries of local wards and increases in council rents; rates and parking charges. There was also concern for neighbourhood status and, in at least two other cases, resentment over alleged stigmatization of an area by outside bodies. For example, the tenants' association in Portsdown Park reacted angrily when an unflattering report about the estate - prepared by social workers and the police - was leaked to the local press.

Thus the variations in the issues that were raised as between different neighbourhoods largely reflected the character, age and housing tenure of the different localities. Many of the demands that were made were defensive in the sense of preserving and protecting the environmental status quo. They concerned a wider range of issues than those identified in Canada by Janelle and Millward (1976), reflecting the wide range of services for which local government in Britain is responsible, and the greater extent of public control of land-use.

(c) Links with the city council

Whatever issues arose organizations (in practice their officers)

then had to decide what if anything to do about them. Infrequently they tried to alleviate problems through their own efforts rather than have to rely on trying to persuade public authorities to take action. Minor campaigns in the co-production of services were tried. For example, an anti-litter campaign, and a club for mothers and babies in Portsdown Park.

The majority of issues, however, were tackled by means of political demands on public decision makers. The leaders of organizations, when deciding on their tactics of demand-making were influenced by a variety of factors. These included past experience, established contacts with officers; advice from councillors and outside experts; and the need to be *seen* to be active. Although associations in Portsmouth used the whole gamut of tactics, the overall impression gained from talking to their chairmen and scrutinising their records was a 'middle' way between the quiet persuasion characteristic of parish councils and the more strident tactics of protest groups. The actual choice of tactics depended not so much on the issue concerned as on the anticipated response of the public authorities involved.

Housing and other public service issues were frequently channelled through Portsmouth's Joint Consultative Body, a forum in which officials from the housing and other departments met public-housing tenants' representatives on a regular basis (see Chapter VIII). This official channel of access, for all its weaknesses, was valued and used as a means of communication. In general, however, contacts with officials were less structured and included letters to chief officers of the council, telephone calls, attendance at public inquiries, petitions, letters to the local press and stories leaked to local reporters. Only rarely would less orthodox strategies such as taking legal action against the city council be used. This was employed over the dampness problem in Portsdown Park. The tenants' association copied a tactic successfully used elsewhere in the city. Ratepayers' associations tended to channel their grievances through their local ward councillors, letters to the local newspapers, and attendance at public inquiries. Associations in more working-class neighbourhoods of Portsmouth frequently approached their (then Labour) Member of Parliament, or local officials on more minor matters.

(d) Responses and outcomes

Public authorities responded in a number of ways to the demands of the 11 neighbourhood associations. Symbolic responses were certainly in evidence and there was no shortage of communications flowing between secretaries and the civic offices. In addition, there were some notable, if partial, victories. For example, Portsmouth City Council was forced by legal action in the courts to remedy the dampness in the Portsdown Park housing estate. Minor improvements in bus routes and street cleaning were secured. On the other hand, there have been major defeats. A virtually new public house was built in Buckland despite an appeal to the local government ombudsman; no additional safety fencing was added to the balconies of blocks of flats in Portsdown Park despite a vociferous campaign following the death of a young child; and Paulsgrove had until very recently to suffer from the use of a substandard temporary building for its branch library.

Victory and defeat were not the monopoly of any one type of neighbourhood organization. The inequalities in influence and effectiveness which P. Lowe (1977) attributes to differences in political clout between rich and poor neighbourhoods were not apparent in Portsmouth. Ratepayers' groups from the affluent suburbs and tenants' associations in deprived inner-city areas were both successful on some occasions. Two elements that were crucial, however, were *support* and *concessions*. A major tactic for community groups was to secure the support of their ward councillor, the local newspaper, and in certain cases their MP. This support ranged from the nominal or passive, to an active form when politicians engaged in initiatives on the group's behalf. Support, even from political leaders, was not in itself a guarantee of success. In the case of neighbourhood organisations as elsewhere the outcome was largely dependent on the willingness of the council to make concessions.

When neighbourhood associations in Portsmouth were threatened with negative impacts associated with unwanted facilities or land uses they made exclusionary responses. Neighbourhood associations more than other less formally organised groups were able to take a longer and broader view of problems in their areas. They usually claimed to be the legitimate voice of their areas and its residences, a claim that was in

some cases implicitly conceded by councillors and officers. Areas represented by neighbourhood associations seem to have enjoyed minor benefits in the shape of streets cleaned, snow cleared, vermin exterminated, playgrounds maintained, windows repaired, roads patrolled by dog wardens, police patrols increased. Some unwanted land uses and facilities were resisted. Nonetheless it is also true to say that the overall allocation of resources by the local authority was not dramatically or substantially altered as a result of the intervention of residents' or tenants' associations. The neighbourhood council established in Stamshaw failed to be accorded any special status and although active for a number of years failed to make any major impact on the council's policies.

(vii) Protest groups

Unlike the neighbourhood associations, protest groups are generally informal and shortlived. They often comprise groups of citizens or consumers who are concerned about a specific official action or proposal or lack of attention. They arise 'spontaneously' and usually only stay in existence as long as the issue remains unresolved. Because of their ephemeral existence and lack of organizational structure it is difficult to obtain systematic data on such groups. In this case reliance was placed for information solely on the local newspaper. A total of 28 such protest groups which were concerned with *public service issues* were identified. From a scrutiny of the volumns of the Portsmouth Evening News the following information about protest groups was obtained - (1) a description and photograph of 'the problem' together with the names and addresses of the protestors and a quote from them about the issue; (2) an immediate response or explanation from a councillor (often a committee chair), or a senior official; and (3) some indication of the outcome, particularly if it was positive. This type of coverage of local issues has been termed 'backside reporting' by Ferres (1977). The degree of space devoted to each issue also varied depending on the intensity and longevity of the case. Additional data was derived from city council minutes and informal talks with some of the participants. There is, of course, no guarantee that all protests over public services which did take place during 1977 were reported. However, protest groups which were formed during the year were certainly given publicity, even if the scope and tone of the coverage varied

considerably. Dramatic events were occasionally given front page headlines while, in a few cases, editorials gave qualified support for campaigns whether either personal tragedies were involved or those affected were deemed to have suffered from civic incompetence. Outcomes were rarely reported in any detail, and occasionally not at all.

An uneven pattern of protest is evident in Fig. 5.17. As such it resembles the distribution of petitioning, in so far as Portsmouth's working class neighbourhoods can clearly be seen to be 'demanding' zones. A total of 19 out of the 28 protest groups arose in the officially delimited inner city. In contrast, more affluent peripheral private estates in the north east of the city made few if any such protests. A spatial incidence of protest does *not* appear to have been influenced by the existence or otherwise of neighbourhood associations or G.I.A. residents' committees since it occurs in both areas covered by such organisations and those where they do not exist. Nor are the well delinated community areas found by Hall more often the locale for protest groups. On the other hand dependence on public services and political representation by minority Labour Party councillors (Figs. 5.5(b) and 5.5(c)) seems to spatially coincide with such protest activity.

The issues at stake were equally divided between those involving the quality and quantity of service delivery and the location or use of public facilities. In the latter case neighbouring residents were upset by the actual or proposed location of facilities seemed to be noxious. 16 of the 28 protest groups were 'reacting' to official proposals or actions, a sizeable minority were objecting to unacceptable conditions resulting from a *lack* of public attention.

Given that the impact of local facilities is often spatially concentrated, it is not surprising to find that most demands were made on behalf of either a single street, or block of flats. A dozen campaigns were backed by groups representing 100 or fewer residents, while only two action groups raised petitions with more than 1000 signatures. Supporters evidently resided in close proximity or by virtue of their needs were similarly affected (single parents using a day nursery; non car owners in a peripheral council estate who were

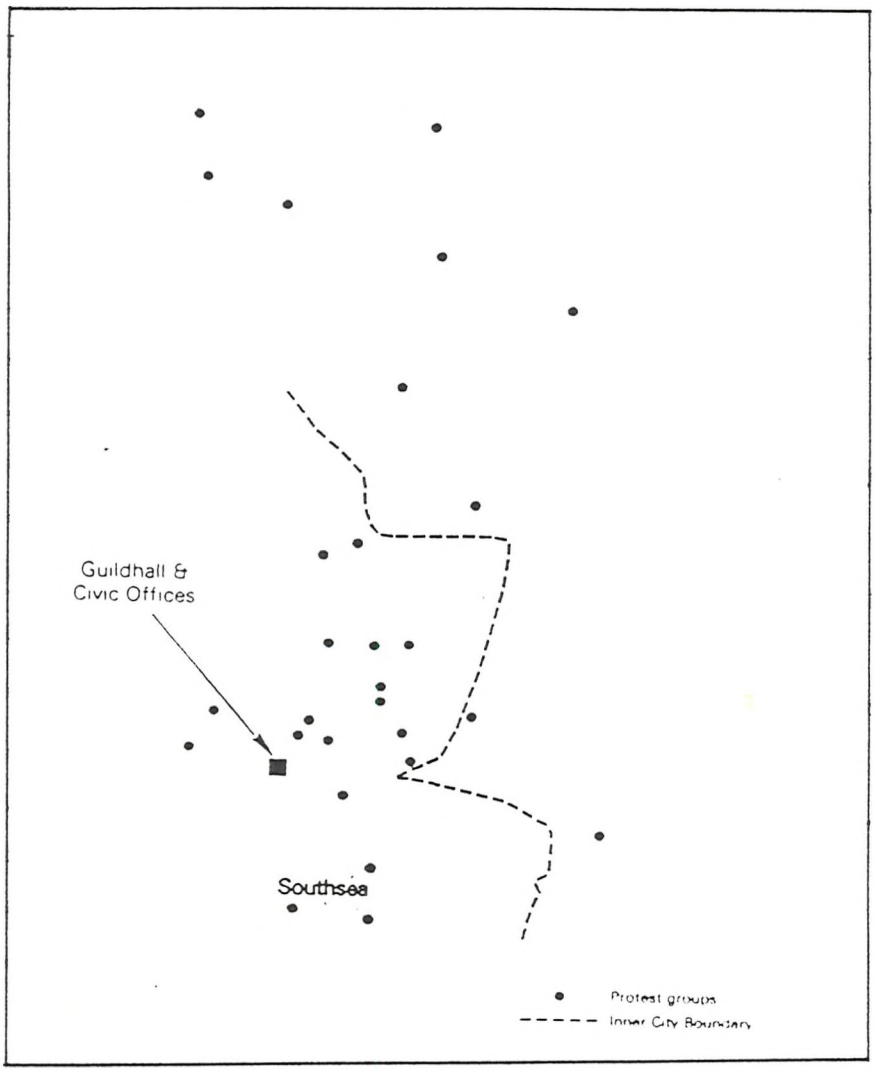


Figure 5.17 Protest groups in Portsmouth, 1977

Source: Burnett, 1984b

reliant on a bus service).

In terms of tactics employed by protest groups to bring their grievances to the notice of the authorities and exert pressure on them, it is clear that a variety of strategies was tried. The raising of *petitions* in campaigns was a notable feature (17 out of 28 cases), and *deputations*, as has already been noted, were at this stage welcomed by the city council and its committees. Why was petitioning so prevalent? Probably because they proved that people really were behind the protest (at least in so far as to write their name and address on the petition). As already mentioned in section (iii) of this chapter, signatures were usually easily gathered and provided tangible evidence that the action group which was protesting had the backing of neighbourhood or group of consumers. Local councillors were also frequently contacted and the help of the then Labour Party MP for Portsmouth North - Frank Judd - seems to have been actively solicited and readily given. More 'militant' tactics in the form of marches, demonstrations and public meetings were employed in few cases. Demands were frequently initially addressed to officials by letter, but subsequently, when protestors felt that they were achieving little, they resorted to more visible forms of pressure on more senior officials and committees.

With council committees and departments were deemed to be the appropriate targets for most protests although in at least one case the statutory responsibility for the service in question lay elsewhere. On the evidence of this case study, non-metropolitan districts like Portsmouth may have lost some of their major functions, but the ones they have retained - housing, roads (via agency agreements), environmental health, and planning control - are those which make them the target for protest.

It is apparent that policy makers in Portsmouth always give a symbolic response to protest groups. Access was granted in all cases, with their complaints and demands being subject to official investigation and deliberation. In half the cases the goals of protest groups were wholly or substantially achieved, while in eight others they were totally unsuccessful. In a number of cases some sort of compromise was reached, while other outcomes were unknown or inconclusive.

An explanation of why some protests succeeded while others failed remains somewhat inconclusive. With the exception of those issues actually causing death or serious injury to members of the public, no particular types of problem was consistently solved to the satisfaction of residents. If the type of issue was not crucial to the outcome, neither were the tactics employed nor the size or scale of the public support for the protest group. Neither did the intervention of a MP or councillors - even senior Conservative politicians of the controlling party in the city - invariably make a crucial difference to the outcome. Demanding the status quo may have improved the chances of success but it did not guarantee a victory any more than if protestors enjoyed the approbation of the editor of the local newspaper. Demands which did not require large amounts of public expenditure, or saved money were acceeded to, but so were some which entailed considerable financial commitment. It seems that if money 'had' to be found then funds were somehow raised to meet the demands of the protestors.

Some valuable, albeit fragmentary clues are to be found in the reports of the individual issues. Officials clearly evaluated demands made upon them in the light of their own professional standards - perception of need as evaluated by technical criteria, practicability and consistency. Councillors also responded to pressure on occasions they seemed to have been convinced as to the merits of the case, the 'genuine' concern of those involved in protesting, or impressed by the 'sensible' way they presented their case. They clearly gave priority to 'city wide' considerations on some occasions at the expense of the narrower demands of even their own constituents.

In Portsmouth then, groups of neighbours did protest about public services. Many protest groups 'sprang up' apparently spontaneously. Some protest campaigns were however aided and abetted, if not instigated, by organisations both locally-based and from outside. For example, neighbourhood associations were behind several campaigns during 1977 and city-wide or national bodies supported others. Likewise local politicians - the Labour MP and Conservative parliamentary candidate in Portsmouth North (a marginal constituency) and councillors - played more than a passive role in framing several protests.

Nonetheless normally apolitical residents seem to have been crucially involved in these protests. They have found petitions,

deputations and the local newspaper convenient vehicles to voice their demands to officials and councillors. No doubt the fact that some of these channels were commonly used - sometimes successfully - was one reason why they were favoured. That is there was a 'spillover' effect in operation. This was especially evident in the threat and use of legal action over dampness in their properties by groups of council tenants against the city council under the 1938 Public Health Act.

More problematic is the question of why some demands succeed and others fail and still others partially succeed. Size and solidarity of support seem to be important (as evidenced, for example, by a petition), gaining powerful allies may be vital, but so also is - to those in authority at least - what is involved in acceding to a demand however effectively expressed and amply supported. With respect to protest groups and indeed and indeed other collective actions tangible responses depended on such factors as how well the case was argued; whether it could be seen as 'special' or might set a precedent; if it was likely to win or lose votes in a marginal seat and, finally, if it would enhance or reduce departmental domains. The process whereby demands were evaluated was a complex and crucial one and involved both the willingness and ability of officeholders to make concessions.

(viii) Miscellaneous additional modes of participation

The survey of political participation in Portsmouth reported in this chapter though lengthy has been far from exhaustive. Many people in the city are members of political organisations - parties and pressure groups, for example - which play a significant role in its political life. Before highlighting the major patterns, issues and outcomes of the participation noted in the previous sections a brief mention of these 'other' modes is in order.

As far as membership of political parties is concerned, the Conservative and Labour Parties are organised on a branch basis (these coinciding with city council wards) while the Liberal, SDP and minor parties (Co-operative, Ecology, Communist, National Front and Socialist Workers) all are based on a constituency or the city as a whole. The Labour Party which in Portsmouth has been declining in membership in recent years, it had in 1983 less than 1000 paid up members. Eight

branches have between 60 and 90 members and the details are shown in Fig. 5.18.

Ward	No. of Members	Ward	No. of Members
St. Thomas	66	Nelson	62
St. Jude	83	Copnor	71
Havelock	146	Hilsea	120
Highland	31	Paulsgrove	60
Milton	63	Cosham	76
Fratton	88	Farlington	68
Charles Dickens	47	Total	981

Figure 5.18 Membership of Portsmouth Labour Party, 1983 (by ward)

Source: Portsmouth Labour Party Annual Report, 1983.

Working class wards such as Charles Dickens and Paulsgrove normally regarded as safe Labour seats it should be noted did not have large membership and indeed for a number of years the former struggled to exist as a functioning unit at all. A value of $r = -0.34$ was obtained in a correlation analysis of wards in terms of Labour Party membership and percentage Labour vote in 1981 County Council elections. Labour Party membership was positively correlated with council tenants ($r = +0.49$) and negatively associated with professional and managerial status ($r - 0.33$). In these wards also the ratio of male to female members was particularly pronounced (3:1 in Charles Dickens). The relatively large size of Havelock's membership was due to a vigorous recruitment campaign mounted in that part of Southsea. Similarly a concentrated pattern was also evident in the distribution of members of Portsmouth CND. In 1983 its 350 members were concentrated in Southsea (93 in St. Jude's Ward, 41 in Havelock and 28 in St. Thomas) where its officers lived and it held its monthly public planning meetings.

While political parties and pressure groups aggregate and articulate political demands to those in the city and indeed elsewhere, there are yet other forms of action available to those who feel strongly about an issue or that they have suffered unjustly at the hands of the local

authority. Ridley (1984) has recently reviewed the various paths open to citizens to redress grievances. These include the courts, public inquiries, tribunals, and the national and local ombudsman. Of the last named, Ridley states:

> 'This is not a routine way of handling complaints. Few cases go to them and of these a disproportionately large number seem to come from the better educated classes of society rather than the under-privileged.... The institution's value lies in what it prevents rather than what it cures'.
>
> (p.19)

In Portsmouth the city council was reported to the ombudsman 76 times during the period 1975-84 but with only one or two cases each year actually being subjected to an investigation. As has been noted as a result of one of these cases the city council undertook a review of the procedures by which it publicised and consulted the public over planning applications. In addition 300 claims are made against the council every year - including such matters as damaged carpets in council houses and personal injury caused by the poor conditions of highways (Personal communication from the City Secretary and Solicitor, 29th March, 1984).

In the same six year period half-a-dozen local major public inquiries were held. The lengthiest and most publicised concerned the North/South Road Stage III held in May/June, 1980. This road scheme costing over £7 millions together with its associated compulsory purchase and demolition of 400 houses had been opposed by local residents. At the inquiry nearly 200 formal objections were registered against the road and the C.P. orders. The opposition came from residents and Labour part councillors aided by a sympathetic professional surveyor. The inspector recommended that the orders be not confirmed (i.e. the road should not proceed), however, the Secretary of State subsequently overruled this recommendation. Objectors to the establishment of a marina at Eastney were successful in getting the project delayed. However, in the case of a major central city shopping centre, and the proposed former airport development, the council won their case.

(ix) Conclusion

There are several findings to be noted from this broadbrush review

of a range of modes of political involvement to be found in Portsmouth. They include range and level of political activity, the social and spatial patterns, the issues which were the subject of demand-making, the role of councillors and officers, and the outcomes. In discussing the points it should be borne in mind that some of the modes of participation and tactics of demand-making will be referred to in relation to specific issues and services in the following chapters.

A pre-requisite for voting is first getting onto the electoral register. That very few qualified electors in the city failed to register is largely due to the sustained efforts of the E.R.O. and staff employed by him. Though citizens are legally obliged to register in order to become electors, a varying proportion of them actually cast their votes at successive ballots. The percentage voting at general and local elections was close to the national norm - 60-70 per cent and 30-50 per cent respectively. The turnout at county and European elections was lower thus revealing a hierarchy of political 'salience' as follows - general - city - county - European. Of the 140,000 electors, approximately 60,000 voted consistently in city council elections and they did so predominantly for Conservative party candidates. Although minority party candidates received fewer votes they gained even fewer seats and attempts to remedy this electoral bias were unsuccessful when the Boundary Commission reorganised electoral boundaries in the city. Substantial numbers of people complained, petitioned and protested between elections. Nearly 700 complained in one year to the Environmental Health Department over housing matters alone; 23,000 signed 46 petitions in only two years; 607 people sent letters of objection over one planning application. There were also 111 deputations received by the City Council over a six-year period and more by its committees. Both neighbourhood organisations and more ephemeral protest groups were in evidence in the city. Although probably more people voted than took part in any other political activity the evidence of this chapter is that political involvement between elections is substantial. It is also wide ranging in terms of the sort of organisations which are joined and supported. Collective, including neighbourhood, demand-making is very much in evidence as well as individual complaining and contacting.

Certain regularities appear in an examination of what sort of people are politically active and where. The overall pattern is *uneven* with areas of high socio-economic status, rates of home ownership and educational attainment generally in the east of the city (epitomised by Farlington) turning out at elections at higher rates than elsewhere. However these same areas are less active in such activities as protesting, complaining or petitioning. In contrast, inner city council areas characterised by a high proportion of manual occupations despite being cajoled into previously registered record lower turnout rates at elections are prone to raise their political voices over issues which affect them between elections. The fact that those whom they elect are in a minority may contribute to this reliance on direct demand-making between elections. The inner city of Portsmouth is clearly a demanding zone as expressed in terms of the number of complaints registered, protest groups formed, and petitions signed. Organisational membership is not necessarily very high in such areas at least from the evidence of the Portsmouth Society and the Labour Party.

The pattern of participation at the micro scale depends on the issue at stake. Some locational conflicts involving 'noxious' or unwanted facilities generated a massive city-wide response while others, such as those concerning hostels for homeless single men, more localised opposition. (Articulated support for such proposals in rarely forthcoming). The general pattern was one of environment and amenity issues arising in the densely populated and built-up Victorian zone of the city. Here potential negative impacts of public plans and proposals often involving locating facilities or changing land uses were opposed by local residents. Public service issues, and anti-social behaviour were the subject of demands particularly by those living in public sector housing areas.

Individual complaints tended to be directed at departmental officers whereas petitions, deputations and neighbourhood organisations relied far more on ward councillors. This was especially true in areas not represented by councillors of the majority Conservative Party. The fact that a majority of councillors of both main parties represent relatively safe seats may be a contributory factor in limiting their role in allying themselves to public protests and campaigns. The fact

that councillors do not live in the inner city may also be significant. It seems that whether or not councillors encourage or discourage groups and organisations, and whether they are attentive to or ignore their demands, depends on which party they belong. Conservative party councillors oppose demands which urge a change in the (Conservative) council commitments and policies. 'Critical' demands and requests from the public are more likely to be supported by Labour Party councillors but that does not necessarily help those making demands to gain a favourable outcome. Both councillors and officials pay more than just lip service to public involvement, and they will rarely be seen to be hostile to it. For example, deputations to the city council were tolerated for many years, and only stopped when councillors became irked by the time taken and the fact that critical deputations seemed to be 'taking advantage' of the system.

Evidence has also been found that some demands are accorded more than just a symbolic response. Some notable victories have been recorded by groups of residents in having their demands wholly or partially met, rather than having merely their views 'taken into account'. Some demands for example those of the local branch of CND, and the Bus Action Group which used deputations to air their views were ignored. Others achieved shortlived success as, for example, when some of the residents in surrounding streets to a proposed hostel in Southsea, successfully opposed it being given planning permission, only to see the vote reversed at a subsequent meeting. In this case, ward councillors having been seen initially to take up and support local demands, at a later stage quietly concurred with the recommendations of planning officers. It is apparent that no one channel of political demand-making was outstandingly more successful in tangible terms than others. Nor can the type of organisation or people involved, or the area they come from, be deemed a crucial factor. The evidence suggests that the success or failure of demand-making can be attributed more to the extent to which what is demanded, is congruent with council policy (a product of councillors' decisions but also based on officers' recommendations), and the cost of acceding to it. Thus it cannot be said that the only function of deputations to the council is ritualistic and symbolic nor the role of planning inquiries entirely one of

legitimizing official policies and decisions. Tangible rewards are, on occasion, accorded to those who persevere in making their views known to, and putting pressure on, those in authority.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL ACTIVISM FROM THE PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVE

The previous chapter outlined patterns and, to a lesser extent, processes in relation to different modes of political participation. Before embarking on a detailed analysis of official channels through which the public communicate their demands to those in authority, (Chapters VII - X) local political activity as seen 'from below' will be analysed on the basis of a questionnaire survey conducted in the southern part of the city. A sample of residents in Southsea were asked to provide information about themselves; the extent and type of their political involvement in recent years; what issues concerned them sufficiently to warrant political action and their views on the impact (if any) of demands they had made. As already noted such surveys have been conducted in other British cities, notably Sheffield (Hampton, 1970), Southwark (M.O.R.I., 1980) and Reading (Peake, 1983). This chapter relies on survey data thus offsetting the heavy reliance on official sources in other chapters. It focuses on the attributes, and attitudes of a sample of residents in Southsea, and their reported political activities.

The 174 respondents who completed the questionnaire (see Appendix D) lived in some ten sub-areas (mostly comprising individual or adjoining streets) in different neighbourhoods of Southsea (Nobbs Lane is in fact in Old Portsmouth which is actually outside the Southsea postal area). In terms of their built environment the streets and blocks of flats in which respondents live are representative of the diversity of age, house type and locational characteristics to be found in Southsea. The main features of the sub-areas are summarised in Fig. 6.1 and their locations are shown on Fig. 6.2. Suffice to say that there are marked environmental contrasts between the blocks of flats in Somerstown, the terraced housing of much of central Southsea, Georgian town houses (e.g. Netley Terrace), and the detached villas in Spencer Road, and the inter-war semis of Bertie Road.

Thus the social character and diversity of Southsea (the profile of St. Thomas, St. Jude, Havelock, Highland and Milton wards is referred

1.	NOBBS LANE (Old Portsmouth)	Modern town houses built during the 1970s close to power station
2.	GLOUCESTER VIEW	19th century terraced cul-de-sac 'gentrified' during the last decade
3.	(WILMCOTE HOUSE (CANNOCK LAWN	Post-war blocks of flats on the Somerstown estate; the latter recently subject to substantial renovation
4.	NETLEY TERRACE	19th century Georgian town houses close to Southsea shopping centre
5.	(BAILEY ROAD (ETON ROAD	Late 19th century terraced houses located close to the route of the North South Stage III road and Priory Comprehensive School
6.	(REGINALD ROAD (LISS ROAD	Turn of the century 'bay and forecourt' terraced housing in central Southsea
7.	DUNCAN ROAD	Terraced housing south of Albert Road, recently declared as part of a general improvement area
8.	(BERTIE ROAD (PLEASANT ROAD	Inter-war semi-detached housing in Milton
9.	GODIVA LAWN	Post-war council maisonettes near Bransbury Park
10.	SPENCER ROAD	Large detached Victorian houses close to the seafront

Figure 6.1 Environmental characterstics of sub-areas

to in Chapter IV) is broadly covered in the streets surveyed. The settled and fairly elderly nature of the area's populace is also reflected in the sample (Fig. 6.3). In terms of occupational status and social class, Southsea's heterogeneity is evident. (The definitions of social classes used in this chapter is not that used in others chapters. Here it is based (like the MORI poll) on Institute of Practitioners in Advertising categories). The presence of H.M. forces, civil servants, students, retired, and IBM data processors, amongst the respondents reflects the nature of the local economy. There is a tendency for those not in paid employment (housewives and pensioners) to feature in the sample.

The only additional background characteristics of respondents elucidated by the questionnaire was the extent of readership of sources of information about the city and local civic affairs. Three-quarters

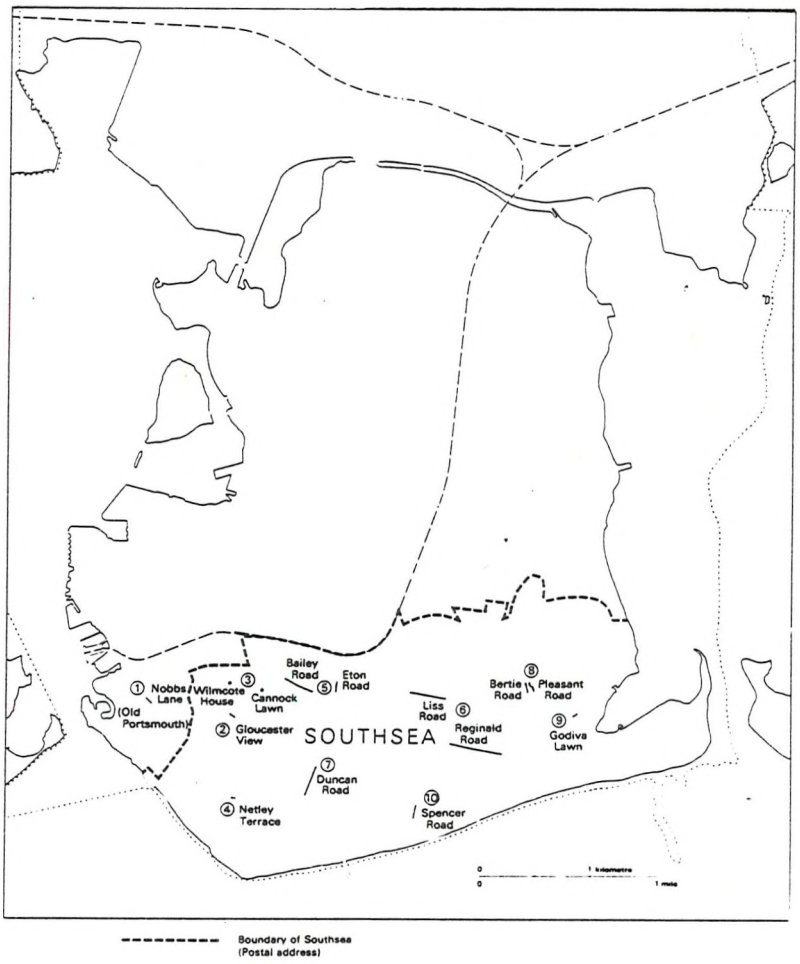


Figure 6.2 Location of sub-areas

of respondents claimed to read the *Portsmouth Evening News* regularly although fewer (just under 50 per cent) normally looked at its public notices section. Relatively few people (20 per cent) were aware of or had read the 'ABC of Portsmouth' - an information booklet produced and distributed by the city council telling the public which department to contact over specific service problems, complaints and queries (Appendix B)

(i) The extent of participation

Having provided basic data of their own circumstances, respondents were asked to indicate from a list of political activities those in which they had been involved during the last few years. The list included electoral and non-electoral modes of participation at the local level and, in the case of voting and membership of political organisations, the national level.

Comparative studies have shown that there is considerable variation in the extent to which citizens report themselves as being involved in

Tenure		Family Status	
Owner/occupiers	78%	61% households with children at home	
Council tenants	15%	39% households without children at home	
Private tenants	7%		
Age		**Length of Residence**	
21 and under	4%	Less than 1 year	11%
21 - 40	41%	1 - 10 years	52%
41 - 60	33%	+ 10 years	34%
60 +	22%	not known	3%

Occupation

Professional (A)	9%
White collar/managerial (B + CI)	16%
Skilled manual/blue collar (C2)	9%
Semi skilled (D)	13%
Unskilled (D)	9%
Unemployed (D)	3%
Students (D)	3%
Retired	16%
Housewives	22%

Figure 6.3 Socio-economic characteristics of the Southsea respondents

Source: Southsea Survey

different modes of participation. Evidence produced in the late 1960s in Sheffield by Hampton (1970) showed that 10 per cent had approached a councillor with an enquiry or complaint; 36 per cent had contacted an official when they had cause to complain; 25 per cent were members of a trade union, while only 3% belonged to a political party or association or were members of a tenants' or residents' association. A more recent study and one directly comparable to that undertaken in Southsea was conducted during 1980 by MORI on behalf of Southwark Borough Council. Here 75 per cent said they voted at general elections and 57 per cent at local elections. Only a minority of householders in

this inner London borough declared that they complained to council officials (36 per cent); attended a neighbourhood organisation meeting (18 per cent); contacted a local councillor (10 per cent); been on a protest march (8 per cent); or written to a newspaper (6 per cent). Only one in twenty had taken part in an election campaign, and one in ten had contacted their MP. In Southwark a total of 11 per cent of the sample had not taken part in *any* of the forms of participation listed.

A wider range of potential political activities was presented in the Southsea survey. The proportion of respondents claiming to have taken part in each mode in the last four years is indicated in Fig. 6.4.

Attended Council meeting	9%	Contacted MP	11%
Attended public inquiry	7%	Contacted councillor	18%
Attended local public meeting	24%	Contacted official	27%
Generally vote in general elections	93%	Signed a petition	55%
Generally vote in Local elections	83%	Joined a local protest group	33%
Taken part in election campaign	10%	Joined a neighbourhood organisation	10%
Written to the editor of a newspaper	13%	Member of a political party	13%
Applied for a grant or rate reduction	6%	Member of a pressure group (incl. trade union)	24%

Number of types of non-electoral participation	% of total sample
none	28
1	18
2	15
3	13
4	10
5	7
6	4
7	2
8	2
9	1
10	1

Figure 6.4 Involvement in different modes of political participation

Source: Southsea Survey

Given the caveat on the size of sample noted above, the overall impression is one of a *higher* level of participation than reported elsewhere. The reported massive turnout at recent elections must be treated with some scepticism given the percentage poll at the previous elections in 1979 (combined general and district) in Southsea wards (Figs. 5.4(a) and 5.4(b)). Certainly most recent local election turnouts in Portsmouth South constituency have been close to the accepted norm of 30 - 40 per cent. (Despite this apparent discrepancy between the level of actual and self-reported participation, all self-reported political activism will for the sake of simplicity be referred to as *participation).*

Attendance at meetings includes local public meetings held in general improvement areas (Chapter VII) and conservation areas by the city planning department to which all residents are invited (Netley Terrace is located in a conservation area). Making contacts with officials is one of the most prevalent forms of individual local involvement (27 per cent in Southsea, 38 per cent in Reading and 36 per cent in Southwark). One notable finding is that more than a half of the respondents said they had signed a petition and 33 per cent reported they had supported a protest group, i.e. 'joined together with neighbours in protesting about a public plan or proposal or lack of action by the county or city council'. This is a similar figure to the one found in Reading (31 per cent).

In terms of the *number* of activities in which individual respondents reported themselves to have been involved is interesting, though not perhaps surprising to find that a progressively smaller proportion of the sample is involved in a greater number of different modes of participation, ranging from 28 per cent being completely inactive to one per cent taking part in ten different forms of involvement (Fig. 6.4). In other words leaving voting aside, relatively few people are involved in multiple political activities and a substantial number in none at all.

(ii) A typology of the participant public

Various classifications and thresholds can be used to distinguish those who are politically active (and in what way) from those who are not. Verba and Nie's typology - inactives, voting specialists,

parochial participants, communalists, campaigners, and complete activisits represents one possible model. One sixth were classified as 'activists' in that they reported themselves to be involved in five or more different types of political activities. Here a sevenfold classification has been formulated and applied. It is based on *type* of activity (electoral/non-electoral), *referent* (individual or collective), *scale* (local/national); and the *number* of activities in which an individual is engaged. The classification as applied to the Southsea sample is illustrated in Fig.6.5. It is apparent that (1) there

Type of Participant	Level & type of activity reported	Number	% of Sample
A Inactives	none	7	4
B Inactive voters	voting in general/local elections	34	19
C Voting & limited participation	voting & involved in one or two activities	57	32
D Activists	voting & involved in several national & local activities	35	20
E National activists	voting & involved in at least 2 national activities	5	3
F Local activists	voting & active nationally but very involved locally	33	18
G Active non voters	non voting but involved in other (more than two) activities	7	4
		178	100

Figure 6.5 Classification of Southsea respondents by level and type of participation

Source: Southsea Survey.

are relatively few inactives; (2) the proportion of activists of one sort or another (categories C, D, E and F = 42%) is higher than expected; (3) people seem to be more active locally than nationally; (4) the most characteristic mix of modes, among those who do participate, is to regularly vote and occasionally be involved between elections. Although participation seems to be at a higher level than elsewhere it is still only a small minority who are very actively involved in politics. Who are these people then and why are they so involved?

(iii) Correlates of participation

Socio-economic status, housing tenure, age, gender, length of residence, and the incidence of neighbourhood problems have all singly or in combination been cited as explanatory variables for participation. It was shown in the review of empirical research (Chapter III) that there have been contradictory findings when particularized and communal modes of participation have been investigated. (Cox and McCarthy, 1980; Goodman and Clary, 1976; Vedlitz et al, 1980, Sharpe, 1984(a) and (b). Here the level of participation for different sub-groups and areas is noted initially. Following this, elements of the participation process itself are analysed.

Respondents were classified, according to length of residence, presence or absence of children, occupation/social class, tenure, age and residential location. On the basis of their reported level of activism they were put into one of seven categories and these were also grouped into three classes - *activists* (D, E and F), *sporadic participants* (C and G) and *inactives* (A and B). In Fig. 6.5 the proportion of the respondents as a whole who were thus classified is shown. Fig. 6.6 shows the percentage of different sub-groups who fall into each of these three categories. It is thus possible to identify the varying levels of participation for different *sorts* of people. How different groups are involved is also demonstrated. We find, for example, that for sporadic participants involvement is primarily at elections. Thus from Fig. 6.6 it can be seen that in Southsea a relatively high proportion of individuals who have white collar occupations, are well informed, elderly, and medium term residents are activists; likewise for residents of Netley Terrace and Nobbs Lane. Conversely a relatively low proportion of housewives, private tenants and short-term residents are activists. A higher proportion of householders with manual occupations, those who are aged between 41 and 60 and housewives are sporadic participants. As far as being politically inactive is concerned clearly (and predictably) a relatively high proportion of short-term residents, private tenants and young people can be thus classified. Fig. 6.7 presents the data in a different form, highlighting the percentage of different subgroups which are to be found in the full seven categories of the typology. Notable findings indicated by this table include the complete absence of professionals in

	Activist	Sporadic Participants	Inactive
	%	%	%
1 TOTAL SAMPLE	42	35	23
2 (Short term residents	26	37	37
(Medium term residents	47	32	21
(Long term residents	41	39	20
3 Households with children	40	38	22
" without "	47	32	21
4 Professional	77	6	17
White collar	61	28	11
Blue collar	36	41	23
Retired	46	34	20
Housewives	24	41	35
Unskilled	37	63	-
5 Council tenants	54	27	19
Owner/occupiers	41	37	22
Private tenants	31	23	46
6 Well informed	51	34	15
Less well informed	33	36	31
7 21 or under	34	33	33
21 - 40	42	31	27
41 - 60	42	41	17
retired - 60+	45	34	21
8 Nobbs Lane	76	6	18
Netley Terrace	71	-	29
Cannock Lawn/Wilmcote House	55	28	17
Bertie/Pleasant Roads	63	26	11
Spencer Road	38	12	50

Figure 6.6 Proportion of sub-groups in activist, sporadic participant and inactive categories

Source: Southsea Survey

the totally inactive class; the high proportion of short term residents and housewives in the inactive voter group; the high proportion of unskilled respondents who are voters and otherwise limited participants; the high percentage of middle class and low proportion of housewives and short term residents who are activists. This last group may have slipped through the registration net and thus missed the opportunity to vote (Chapter V(a)). Having established that respondents differing in

A INACTIVES (4%)

8% council tenants	6% households without children
5% housewives	3% blue collar
0% professional	

B INACTIVE VOTERS (19%)

37% short term residents	31% housewives
27% less well informed	12% informed
12% council tenants	11% white collar

C VOTING AND LIMITED PARTICIPANTS (32%)

63% unskilled	38% housewives
38% blue collar	19% council tenants
6% professional	

D ACTIVISTS (20%)

39% white collar	33% professional
24% informed	24% households without children
18% households with children	16% less well informed
13% blue collar	8% housewives

E NATIONAL ACTIVISTS (3%)

5% short-term residents	5% retired
5% long-term residents	3% housewives
0% unskilled	

F LOCAL ACTIVISTS (18%)

44% professionals	35% council tenants
23% medium term residents	14% less well informed
13% housewives	5% short term residents

G ACTIVE NON-VOTERS (4%)

11% short-term residents	8% council tenants
5% retired	

Figure 6.7 Proportion of sub-groups by categories of participants

Source: Southsea Survey

occupation, as well as length and place of residence, show varying levels and types of activity the next question to be tackled is what problems (if any) generate political activism on their part.

(iv) Problems generating demands

Respondents were first asked to identify the number and types of participation in which they had been involved in recent years. Then all

respondents, except those who were completely inactive, were asked to name the grievances, issues and problems which had concerned them, and what it was about these issues which had provoked them sufficiently to make them want to take political action. Although the way in which both these open ended questions were answered varied nonetheless it was possible to categorise the responses as shown in Figs. 6.8 and 6.9.

Type of Issue	% of Total
Land use change	19%
Public facilities	11%
Anti-social behaviour	7%
Traffic	20%
Noxious facilities	11%
Streets	5%
Housing	8%
Area policies	6%
Financial policies	4%
National	4%
Miscellaneous	5%

Figure 6.8 Issues which concerned respondents and were the subject of political demands

Source: Southsea Survey

The typology of local problems used here is similar though not identical to that employed in the locational conflict studies of Janelle and Millard (1978) and Ley and Mercer (1980). The typology is based on different aspects of (neighbourhood) amenity. The categories are not entirely mutually exclusive, for example, proposed noxious facilities are in a sense also land-use changes. National issues form a very small percentage of the total but this may in part reflect the phrasing of this section of the questionnaire which tended to put the emphasis on local participation rather than questioning the priorities of respondents as between national and local affairs.

In terms of the relative significance of different types of issues to people in Southsea it is obvious that traffic problems and

	Nr.
Public action definitely 'needed' or 'not needed'	4
Undue delay/inactivity	3
Public policies, ill informed/inconsistent	9
Public waste of ratepayers' money	8
'Noise'	9
'Inconvenience'	11
'Danger'	8
'Damage'	4
'Mess'	1
'Offensive'	2
'Smell'	1
'Morally wrong'	1
By virtue of residence	1
Public duty/responsibility	3

Table 6.9 Issue characteristics which provoked respondents sufficiently to take political action (65 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

land-use changes are of prime importance as issues generating action. This is hardly surprising in a congested city in which the built environment is difficult to adapt to cope with the rapid rise in car ownership. Also in a densely populated situation, the impact of changing land uses and introduction of potentially noxious facilities is more likely to be clearly perceived. The issues which concern Southsea residents are similar, but not identical, to those which have been found in other British cities. For example, unlike the Southwark study it is apparent that housing problems were deemed to be less important. This can be explained by the fact that the small numbers of tenants surveyed live in a council estate which, by virtue of its location in Southsea, is considered amongst the most popular. Major concerns evident to householders included some of those noted in the previous chapter - a proposed Marina at Eastney; the demolition of the Cumberland Road area; the threatened closure of a day nursery; and the proposed adult cinema. Other issues were highly localised in the number of people perceiving them as problems. Fig. 6.10 shows that in some cases a substantial

Nobbs Lane	Demolition of the power station (70%), parking (18%)
Netley Terrace	Planning permission for fish and chip shop (27%), derelict buildings (33%), planning permission for taxi firm office (20%), demolition of trees (20%).
Eton Road	Rudeness by pupils of Priory School (57%).
Bailey Road	Traffic management (75%).
Somerstown	Housing management and allocation (22%).
Bertie Road/ Pleasant Road	Industrial warehouse (21%), Eastney Marina (15%)

Figure 6.10 Percentage of residents mentioning specific problems in selected sub-areas

Source: Southsea Survey

proportion of residents in particular sub-areas were concerned about certain location specific issues from which they already suffered or feared they would do so in the future. In Netley Terrace, for example, which is adjacent to Southsea's major shopping centre, it is not surprising to find that people vigorously opposed planning permission being given for potentially noxious businesses especially as they were within a conservation area. Likewise the preservation of open space (in opposition to the proposed Eastney Marina) is a cause which was wholeheartedly espoused in the peripheral south eastern corner of the city. Thus certain issues stimulated at least *some* nearby residents to take action. Fig. 6.9 indicates that amenity considerations (quietness, convenience, cleanliness, safety) of residential areas were major concerns amongst Southsea respondents. However, other aspects of public decisions or proposal also caused annoyance. For example, the adult cinema was opposed not for amenity reasons but because it was deemed to be 'morally wrong' (Chapter V(iv)(a)). Undue delay and apparent public inactivity were clearly resented. Inconsistencies in the policies of city or county authorities were noted, and some spending was opposed as being wasteful. In addition some respondents were involved by virtue of their residence in general improvement and conservation areas or from a sense of public duty. One respondent in Netley Terrace, for example, wrote that it was a general interest in the area *not* annoyance that made him get involved. In another case a respondent wrote -

'friends suffered and we wanted to give them support', a statement which suggests that Cox and McCarthy (1980) are right in suggesting that neighbourly reciprocity is a motive in local political activity. Some issues were cited as having a neighbourhood scale impact - 'a fish and chip shop would lower the tone of the neighbourhood'. In other cases there were personal considerations involved - 'overcrowding and friction within the family' which gave rise to an application to transfer from a flat in Somerstown to a council house elsewhere.

(v) 'Exit or voice'

Respondents were also asked about the possibility of making a residential move as an alternative to political action as a means of avoiding local problems. Whatever the situation may be elsewhere, Southsea residents rarely saw moving house as a solution to coping with neighbourhood problems which confronted them. Only ten respondents stated that they considered or tried to move because of such problems. Four council tenants said that they would like to move. In one case, this was because 'the block is becoming a slum because certain families are moving in, and there is no warden to keep the rules and regulations'. Two other council tenants deemed their present accommodation unsuitable. These aspirations were tempered by realism as to the likelihood of actually obtaining a transfer - 'you haven't got no chance of getting out of here except to Leigh Park' (shown in Fig. 8.2). Owner occupiers who *had* considered moving cited nuisances such as the difficulty of parking during the football season and dirty pavements as reasons.

Of the substantial majority who claimed that they had *not* considered a move in spite of having been annoyed or upset by local problems a total of 52 respondents gave explicit reasons for their unwillingness to take the 'exit' option. To many the presence of certain aspects of the local environment which they disliked was more than offset by the positive aspects of living where they did - 'apart from the aforementioned annoyances the house and location are ideal'; 'ideal place - nice house and garden - near shops, common and beach'; 'noise is the only real problem, but is outweighed by many other advantages'; 'don't like the area but it is convenient for work'; 'very nice area - service (military personnel) people and of course cathedral people' (respondent in Nobbs Lane); others liked the particular dwelling in which they were living or

to which they had just moved. A variety of additional reasons were given as indicated on Fig. 6.11, which included a resolute 'why should I run from problems caused by Portsmouth City Council'. Other responses included - 'our fault for living in a red light district'; 'advantages of location outweigh disadvantages'; 'Navy hasn't moved me recently'; 'never finished doing my house up for sale' (R.N. officer in Netley Terrace); and a plaintive 'couldn't afford a higher mortgage'.

Reasons	Nr.
Problems outweighed by advantages of locality	16
Considerations relating to the dwelling occupied	7
Recently moved in	5
Too old to move	1
Difficulty of moving	2
Liked area	8
Close to place of work	3
Already moved once because of problems	2
'Settled'	3
'Wouldn't solve the problem'	2
Conditions are improving	1
Alternative localities are no better	2

Figure 6.11 Reasons given for not considering or trying to move from present accommodation despite existence of local problems (52 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

This survey shows that for a variety of reasons many householders in this particular district of Portsmouth are prepared to put up with local problems. They do try to alleviate these, however, by signing petitions, writing letters, contacting their local councillors and officials. Rarely, it seems, do they actually move house or attempt to do so.

(vi) Reasons for inactivity

Thirty respondents identified local problems which, although they felt strongly about them, they had *not* tried to get anything done

about them. Still fewer were able or willing to explain their inactivity. Since many more respondents had, when asked what the worst aspects of living where they did in Portsmouth, been able to cite specific problems, then clearly the absence of problems was not the only factor which caused limited response to this question. In spite of perceiving aspects of the local environment and service provision unfavourably these respondents it seems lacked the motivation, resources or confidence to take them up with the authorities.

The problems shown in Fig. 6.12 suggest that some land-use changes, parking and traffic problems as well as anti-social behaviour, are seen by householders as 'hopeless causes'. On the other hand a facility threatened with closure constitutes a specific and tangible and therefore viable cause for which to fight. The fact that the built environment is seen as relatively permanent and many noxious facilities have been around for a long time (and are not easily removed) is a likely explanation for their presence in the list. The reasons given for inactivity are revealing in terms of why some people do *not* make political demands, even when irked by problems that apparently affect them personally. 'Lack of time - you can't do everything' claimed one respondent. The importance of having time enough to tackle problems was confirmed by one pensioner in Bertie Road who stated - 'Now I am retired

Problems	Nr.	Reasons	Nr.
Land use change	7	Lack of time	7
Closure of facility	1	Problems cannot be solved by council	5
Anti-social behaviour	7	National problem	2
Parking/traffic	5	Lack of contacts	2
Noxious facilities	4	Similar proposal turned down elsewhere	2
Roads/pavements	2	Too late	2
Housing	2	No support	2
Council spending	2	Against council policy	6
		Miscellaneous	2

Figure 6.12 Local problems over which political action was not taken and reasons given (30 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

I have more time to walk around and see things that don't please me'. Another explanation is that some respondents felt that the perception of the council's response would be negative - 'a similar proposal for Clifton Terrace failed.... I feel we had even less chance of success'; 'lack of interest on the part of the authorities'; 'nothing gets done'. Others felt the issue clearly was beyond the power of the council to solve. As Nelson (1980) and Cornelius (1974) note, before political demands are made a public authority has to be seen as the appropriate body to resolve an issue. One respondent wrote 'the council could not do anything about it even if they bothered'. A retired police officer referring to abusive behaviour by local youths claimed it was 'a national problem'. Ironically it was a local government officer who explained his inactivity by stating he did not have enough contacts in the civic offices. Other residents clearly just did not know what to do about such problems as dog excretia on the pavements, with one housewife stating plaintively 'I can't think of a way of stopping the mess - can you?' The survey thus reveals that not all householders respond in the form of political or any other action to problems that concern them. The explanation for this lies not solely in the nature of the problem or, on the other hand, the attributes or attitudes of those concerned, but rather a combination of the two. Whether citizens respond to problems, and how, may partly depend who they live next to and with whom they are friendly. There is certainly evidence that *voting* behaviour is, under certain circumstances, influenced by what has been termed the 'neighbourhood effect' (Wolfe and Burghardt, 1978); Fitton, 1971). When asked with whom they discussed problems in deciding what (if anything) to do about them, Southsea respondents evidently *did* use their neighbours as 'sounding boards'. Families and friends were also important reference groups (Fig. 6.13). Given the low level of activity attributed to their neighbours by respondents (Fig. 6.14) it is perhaps not surpising that not all perceived environmental problems were tackled collectively. Potential response is then affected by neighbourhood and friends. But this does not mean that people necessarily see their locality as a source of activism. Those living in the immediate locality are not necessarily seen as politically active, nevertheless it is neighbours and friends who form the sounding board for discussing local problems as Fig. 6.13 shows.

	Nr.
Neighbours	24
Friends	3
Family	3
Family and friends	3
Friends and neighbours	8
Family, friends and neighbours	20
No-one at all	8
Councillors	2
Local shopkeeper	2
Miscellaneous	3

Figure 6.13 Those with whom respondents discussed problems and what (if anything) to do about them (76 responses)

	Nr.
Very	15
Quite	32
Not very	65
Not at all	12
Miscellaneous	4
Don't know	3

Figure 6.14 Respondents view of interest and activity of their neighbours in local affairs (131 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

(vii) Means of communication

A national survey in the 1960s reported that 58 per cent of complaints were registered in the form of personal contacts (usually calling in at the local council offices), 26 per cent by telephone, and 22 per cent by letter (Hampton, 1970, p.143). Likewise, in the Southwark study complaints to the housing or other council departments were most frequently made in person, with letter writing and telephoning less often cited. In Southsea a combination of personal contacting and either letter or telephone calls were most frequently given as the most favoured means of communicating demands to those in authority (Fig. 6.15). One respondent wrote - 'all three (visits, letters and telephone calls) several times in a four week period - the thicker your file at council house meetings the sooner you get a house: the moral is - be a pest!'. Another Eastney resident reported he had once spoken to a councillor 'doing his pre-election rounds'. A personal visit is often followed (at the suggestion of an official or out of desperation) by a letter or telephone call, although one respondent stated 'spoke personally, wrote and telephoned - not necessarily in that order'.

	Nr.
Letter	14
Telephone	8
Personal contact	9
More than one of above	21
Petition	3
Not specified	1

Figure 6.15 Means by which demands were communicated to those in authority (56 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

(viii) Outcomes

Following questions about their level of political activity, the issues which worried them, and tactics, the Southsea sample were then asked about the outcomes of their demands. Hampton found in Sheffield that 62 per cent enquiries and complaints were dealt with fully and satisfactorily (p.143) although fewer positive responses were evident with respect to the housing department. Given the complex nature of measuring the quantity and quality of responses or outcomes by public authorities discussed in Chapter I(c) a question was formulated which attempted to distinguish between symbolic responses on the part of officials and councillors, and actual tangible outputs in the form of favourable decisions and resource allocation. Thus a two-part question was used - 'What sort of response did you get' and 'was anything actually done as a result of any actions you took?' Inevitably some answers were ambiguous - 'Mr..... replied we would be put on the waiting list'; 'fairly good co-operation.... council hoping to purchase the (derelict) building'. On the other hand, as can be seen from the verbatim responses quoted in Fig. 6.16, many of the 87 replies clearly showed that the question was adequately comprehended. The answers were classified into an eight fold outcome typology.

Outcomes identified by the survey were as follows - (1) in 29 per cent of cases a *substantial* outcome was attained, e.g. something tangible was achieved - 'an insulation grant was obtained'; (2) 23 per cent of respondents were evidently satisfied and pleased by the way they

Outcome	Example of Reported Responses	%
None	('promise of a visit that was not fulfilled'; 'nothing as usual'; 'nothing whatsoever')	29
Symbolic only	('looked into but not resolved'; 'promises but little action'; 'sympathetic response - negative action')	23
Substantial but not symbolic	('response slow for success'; 'apathy.... but we got out house in the end')	2
Symbolic and substantial	('pleasant acknowledgement in writing.... suggestions taken up')	3
Substantial (possibly including symbolic	('we won our case, baths remained open')	26
Partial	('nothing done on one to one basis but success on community level, i.e. one-way system proposal dropped')	9
Uncertain	('don't know, maisonette allocated in normal way after 10 months'; the plan was abandoned, I don't know what part the petition played in this')	6
Not known	('result not known as away at sea')	2

Figure 6.16 Outcomes of demands and reported responses (87 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

were treated by officials and councillors but nonetheless did *not* feel they had achieved their goal, e.g. 'only an acknowledgement card'; 'helpful response from local councillor but the council already committed to the scheme'; 'personal reaction penitent (obviously in the wrong) but long term result nil'; 'very polite letters in reply saying nothing could be done'; 'many platitudes and promises but little action'; (3) Entirely *negative* outcome, e.g. 'Slow and lethargic response to my letter, nothing constructive seen to be done'; 'the council offices have acquired the nickname Buckpass Abbey'.

Only a few cases were reported where the initial response had been poor but the eventual outcome was satisfying - 'apathy to start with but dripping water wears away the stone in the end - we got our house'. In general, however, although many respondents were dissatisfied with the eventual outcome of their demands, a majority of the total felt that they had been at least given a courteous and

responsive hearing and a sizeable minority considered they had achieved tangible and beneficial public action. Several householders pinpointed a key problem in the analysis of outcomes, namely what part their actual demands had played in the process of public decision-making. For example, one Eastney resident said of the Eastney Marina scheme: 'The plan was abandoned, I don't know what part the petition played in this'. Conversely others were less ambivalent about why their demands had or had not been acceded to - 'Good response, with the help of the ratepayers' association and the councillor involved we won our case'; 'after a forceful campaign it (the Gurney Road nursery) was kept open at least for a year'; 'unless you persevere lethargy can break down the opposition'; 'we were told it would cost too much to alter it' (traffic management scheme); 'although we spoke at a planning committee meeting the result was a foregone conclusion'.

Having analysed the reported results of demand-making from the Southsea sample as a whole there remains the task of investigating precisely whose demands were successful and what sort of issues (if any) were more conducive to a responsive and positive outcome. As has been seen in Chapter III, the evidence on these two points is far from conclusive although the conventional wisdom is that it is the well educated, well-heeled, well connected who get what they want regardless of the issue involved.

The findings presented in Fig. 6.17 are two-fold. In the first column the percentage of the total sample recording negative responses by occupational sub-groups is shown. By far the largest groups registering negative responses are blue collar workers and housewives (24 per cent of the total in each case). More significantly, in terms of the 'who gets what' equation, the second shows the percentage of each group recording a negative response. There is a striking similarity between groups in terms of reporting a negative symbolic response. We can conclude nonetheless that those with white collar occupations did not at least think that they got their own way all the time. There is the problem of course that different individuals and groups may be more or less realistic and knowledgeable about outcomes.

In terms of the issues and outcomes, some clearer links are discernable (Fig. 6.18). For example, planners give demands concerning

Occupational Status	% of total negative responses	% of subgroup reporting negative responses
Professional	18	18
White collar	7	7
Blue collar	24	18
Unskilled	3	20
Unemployed	17	18
Retired	7	-
Housewife	24	17

Figure 6.17 Responses by occupational groups (87 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

A Resisting land use change 35% substantial, 35% symbolic, 15% nothing, 15% unknown

B Objecting to closure of facilities 30% substantial, 20% nothing, 50% not known

C Anti-social behaviour 24% symbolic, 25% substantial 38% nothing, 13% not known

D Parking/traffic 16% substantial, 28% symbolic, 28% nothing, 28% not known

E Noxious facilities 18% substantial, 55% symbolic, 18% nothing, 9% not known

F Roads/pavements 25% substantial, 50% symbolic, 12% nothing, 13% not known

G Housing 10% substantial, 20% symbolic, 60% nothing, 10% not known

Table 6.18 Reported demand outcomes by type of issue (87 responses)

Source: Southsea Survey

noxious facilities a sympathetic hearing but do not often seem willing or able to 'deliver the goods'. As in Southwark, respondents were clearly unhappy about the treatment that they received at the hands of the housing department. Little official response was forthcoming to demands protesting about, for example, such problems as abusive behaviour by adolescents or dirty pavements.

Finally, in an open ended question an opportunity was given to respondents to elaborate on any points they wished. A variety of comments were forthcoming concerning the council, participation in local politics, the local environment and additional problems which were obviously keenly felt. The council was accused of wasting money on prestigious projects by three respondents. Comments on local councillors included - 'younger councillors needed' and 'in the last 8 years we have not had worthwhile canvassing by any candidate'. A more polemical stance was taken by a retired person in Eastney who demanded - 'get rid of the Tory mafia.... Conservative is for conning and conserving what they have'.

Additional local problems cited included lorries, lack of safety for females at night, parking, immigrants, demolition of houses, drab architecture, and dogs. On the other hand several respondents reiterated expressions of satisfaction with their neighbourhood - 'enjoy living here, good environment, parks, close to the sea, public transport to all places in the city'; 'one of the best council estates in Portsmouth'; and 'good housing, convenient for shops, seafront, overlooking park, and five minutes by car to work'. There was no one sub-area in which all respondents commented favourably on their neighbourhood. Nor did any one age or occupational sub-group perceive their part of Southsea to be problem free. In general, respondents of all different backgrounds, and in different locations displayed a 'discriminating' view of their environments citing both agreeable and disagreeable elements.

Varied additional opinions were recorded about their political activism. A 'philosophical' comment was made by one resident of central Southsea - 'the road we live in is used by Portsmouth Football Club supporters, clientele of the Pickwick Club, and Hampshire Car Sales mechanics, and disturbances are high at certain times of day and

night.... of course we chose to live here so make no official complaints'. Other comments reflected trenchant views about individual and group political participation - 'I would (participate) if I thought it would do any good but the further up you go, the deafer people become'. 'as time passes I will become more involved in local affairs'; 'for health reasons I am unable to participate'; 'there is a lot of apathy, the community spirit was destroyed by high rise dwellings'; 'people seem all too ready to complain when the crunch comes they do nothing - all wind and no movement'; 'G.I.A. meetings are well attended but I doubt much will be done as most people are only interested in their own patch and money for grants is lacking!'.

(ix) Conclusions

Several significant findings have emerged from this survey conducted in Southsea. First, Southsea respondents participate more extensively than do those in other areas which have been studied, notably Southwark, this notwithstanding the tendency for some respondents to exaggerate the extent of their political involvement. There is a high proportion of activists, and a wide range of forms of political involvement are undertaken, especially protesting and petitioning. Nonetheless it should be borne in mind that 28 per cent of the sample were, by their own admission, totally inactive apart from voting, while only a small proportion reported themselves as active in the sense of taking up more than one issue and employing a variety of channels to communicate their grievances to the authorities.

Secondly, the findings have confirmed that socio-economic status, residential location, age and length of residence were significant variables in explaining rates of participation but not conclusively so. Thirdly, the presence of a neighbourhood or individual problem was in most cases, a pre-requisite for political demand-making. Not all those vexed by local problems took political action, however, for a variety of reasons. The sort of issues which constituted the basis of political demands were those which would have been anticipated towards service provision. Many grievances are focussed on small scale environmental hazards which as Smith (1976) has shown residents (though not necessarily official policymakers) are aware of and affected by in their daily lives. Clearly Southsea as a densely populated, congested

but varied environment has its own distinctive set of perceived problems. In addition, recent public expenditure cuts leading to facilities being threatened with closure were clearly resented by consumers.

When individuals or groups of householders were inconvenienced, endangered, offended or annoyed by one or several of these problems or public actions, they were prepared to raise and sign petitions, contact their local councillor or MP, and make their way to the Guildhall or civic offices to complain. One alternative course of action, namely to move house, was evidently rarely considered. British householders are perhaps more 'settled' than their American counterparts, (Agnew, 1978). Many Southsea residents were content to stay and (sometimes) fight because they enjoy and appreciate the amenity and accessibility of their road or the suitability of their dwelling.

The clarity with which most respondents reported the response and outcome to their demands came as something of a surprise given that earlier studies have revealed that the public tends to be relatively ignorant about local councils and their activities. The public in Southsea do, it seems, have a precise knowledge of the issues in which they have been involved. In most cases they are not displeased by the initial reception they get from councillors and officials even if at the end of the day they felt that their demands had not always been successful. On the basis of this survey, the type of issue and nature of demands made are more significant factors than the background of the members of the public involved in explaining perceived success and failure in demand-making.

CHAPTER VII

PLANNING : CONSULTATION WITH RESIDENTS' COMMITTEES IN GENERAL IMPROVEMENT AREAS

A major review of attempts in Britain over the past decades to involve citizens in local land use planning decisions has been undertaken by Johnston (1984). He defines planning as the deliberate process of making forward projected decisions about land use and related social and economic policies in a community. Several types of decisions, on a spectrum from the smaller scale decisions to the largest are distinguished. These include (1) development control decisions involving very localised changes and minor variants from building and development regulations; (2) development control on medium to larger scale projects with a wider impact on the community and its public facilities; (3) major projects often involving private developers; (4) the formulation, adoption and amendment of comprehensive plans and land-use policies, including structure plans and local plans of varying scope and formality.

Clearly planning decisions of such differing magnitudes will be unlikely to arouse a uniform public response. As was shown in Chapter V (iv), responses may be confined to immediate neighbours, or involve a larger number of citizens throughout the local authority's area.

Considering the array of Anglo-American case studies of citizen involvement in planning, Johnston draws several conclusions. First, the local authority has pre-eminent influence over the success and failure of individual and group participatory efforts -

> 'local legislators and planners can establish a consultative or definitive process or can cripple or terminate it, almost at will. By their choice of whom to meet with informally, they can grant influence to one over another. Citizen planning groups have been most successful when the local government has given them some tokens of legitimacy and means by which to function : information, staff, funds, and the formal right to be included in deliberations. Further these groups were not merely admitted to occasional participation, but enjoyed ongoing involvement in a wide range of planning choices that allowed them to follow sequential events and accumulate expertise'.
>
> (Johnston, 1984, p.8)

Secondly, (Fagence, 1977), those who participate tend to be persons of middle-to-upper-income, above average education, having business and professional occupations, and being home owners and long-term residents. Thirdly, effective participation in planning demands certain essential skills including the ability

> 'to grasp spatial information (especially maps), to interpret ambiguous data, to weigh several options and to foresee likely consequences of one's choices'.
>
> (Johnston, 1984, p.9)

The ability to penetrate local power structures, learning who makes decisions, informing and persuading the decision makers, using election campaigns, the news media and other interest groups to advance one's aims, have also been found to be necessary skills. Johnston suggests that the more that participants in planning use an 'inside' approach (direct and private communications with decision makers) rather than formal means of exerting influence (relying on established public procedures - consultations, hearings, inquiries) the greater the chance of succeeding.

Johnston's final conclusion is that more workable plans and decisions have been produced with participation than would have been the case without it. Delays and expenses are offset by the fact that plans are more likely to meet the needs of the 'planned for' and can be implemented more effectively when there is a significant involvement from the public. On the other hand some features of particular plans demanded by the community may be deemed to be 'unrealistic', i.e. too expensive for available resources; detrimental to others; or unsuited to current economic conditions.

In relation to structure plans under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1971, adequate public participation is a pre-condition for their approval by central government. The Minister has to be satisfied that adequate publicity has been given to the draft plan, that persons or bodies likely to want to make representations are made aware of their right to do so and that representations from the public are received and properly considered. As we have seen the D.O.E. has issued guidelines, but according to Alterman et al

(1984, p.177) such legal and practical guidelines are flexible enough to be interpreted differently by county councils, producing varying and sometimes innovative modes of participation.

A study of the impact of public participation initiated by Derbyshire County Council in the process of preparing its structure plan has been undertaken by Alterman et al (1984). They focussed on the extent to which public representations had an effect on the final draft plan and the explanatory factors involved. Out of 2,134 comments only 7 per cent led to significant changes in the final plan. The reasons for this largely ineffective response are twofold, according to the authors. First, the late stage at which the public is involved means that a single draft plan is presented. At this stage

> 'the planners preconceptions may have been so crystallised that they are difficult to change'.
>
> (p.192)

Secondly the high level of generalisation that typifies structure plans makes it difficult for the public to respond. They find it difficult to compete with the quantity and quality of information and analysis available to professional planners. It is also assumed that many supporters never bother to register their comments. In Derbyshire only participants who were familiar with or personally involved in planning, (for example from a neighbouring county) brought about substantive changes in the plan whereas the general public had a minimal effect with respect to 'higher order' issues.

The dilemma for planners wishing to consult the public over structure or other plans is that while comments should be solicited from the general public at early stages in the process, the problem is that before a draft plan is prepared it is difficult to elicit a response in the absence of tangible, immediate issues upon which to focus the attention of groups or individuals. We shall see how this dilemma has been resolved in relation to consultation over Portsmouth's general improvement area schemes in this chapter.

The extent and nature of statutory public consultation in Portsmouth has already been discussed and in Chapter v (section iv)

case studies of public response to planning applications and appeals were presented. While, in some instances, substantial individual and organisational involvement was generated on the part of the public in the city, there is also other evidence which suggests the effectiveness of such mechanisms was in doubt. The South Hampshire Structure Plan, elicited little response from the public in Portsmouth. It seems that the broad span of time and space covered by such plans makes for limited popular participation because, as Boaden et al (1982) have noted, the time scales and the goals are both out of phase with that of everyday life. Statutory public enquiries have also been a feature of citizen participation in Portsmouth and the issues and local plans with which they have been associated here mentioned in Chapter V section iv. It is clear from Chapter V, section iv, that some plans are modified as a result of demands made by affected organisations and, at a finer scale, some planning applications refused, in part as a result of public opposition.

The subject of this chapter however is public involvement in planning on a much more continuous basis, and at a highly localised neighbourhood level. During the 1970s and into the 1980s the city council embarked on a major programme of renewal of its older housing areas. This was accompanied by an intensive exercise in public consultation in the form of questionnaires, public meetings and, above all, consultation with specially created residents' committees made up of street representatives. Here the programme of general improvement areas (henceforth called G.I.A.s) is outlined and the process of neighbourhood participation is analysed. The level of participation between different G.I.A.s in the city is noted as is the role of officers and committees. A detailed case study of one G.I.A. residents' committee is presented as further illustrating the five themes being pursued.

(i) An overview of the G.I.A. programme in Portsmouth

By the mid-1960s Portsmouth City Council, like other British urban authorities, began to change from pursuing a policy of clearance and redevelopment of its older housing areas to one of renovation. G.I.A.s, under the 1969 Housing Act, represented an attempt to sustain the old inner housing areas rather than replace them. They were to avoid the dislocation caused by demolition and rehousing in

high rise blocks of flats, halt further outmigration to the suburbs by stimulating public and private investment, and improving amenity and the quality of life. Consultation was to take place with local residents in contrast to earlier policies which often led to disillusion and confrontation.

The first Portsmouth G.I.A. was declared in the Stamshaw area in 1971. This neighbourhood had been blighted at a time when the planned M275 was to be located through it. After pressure from local residents the route of the motorway was altered, and many houses threatened with demolition were saved.

In 1974 the city council approved a plan to designate as G.I.A.s large areas of Victorian terraced housing in an arc surrounding the city centre in the south-west corner of Portsea Island (see Fig. 7.1). By 1983 a total of 22 G.I.A.s had been declared and environmental improvement schemes and home improvement grants had brought about substantial changes to older residential districts in the city.

The pattern of G.I.A.s (1 to 22) is shown on Fig. 7.1. Following the initial focus of activity in Stamshaw; G.I.A. 4 was declared in Southsea, G.I.A. 5 in Eastney and, subsequently, a block of three G.I.A.s in Fratton. Given that virtually all the city's Victorian housing areas were eligible for general improvement area status, (having an annual rateable value of less than £225, and a life expectancy of at least 30 years), how was the spatial chronology of declarations decided? It was based on a mix of technical and political criteria. Areas which had the largest number of unfit or unimproved houses and whose built environment was in need of modernisation were given priority. At the same time, a tendency to 'group' G.I.A.s in selected districts was evident. This was because some improvements such as traffic management schemes would cover wider areas than a single G.I.A., and also the city engineer's department foundit convenient to concentrate their plant and personnel in a few localities at a given time. At the same time, as a result of pressure from councillors to help their as yet neglected wards, the planning department accelerated the programme and began, in the later stages, to distribute resources more diffusely. By the early 1980s, a further extension of the G.I.A. programme was being planned into Southsea, Buckland and North End (Fig. 7.1).

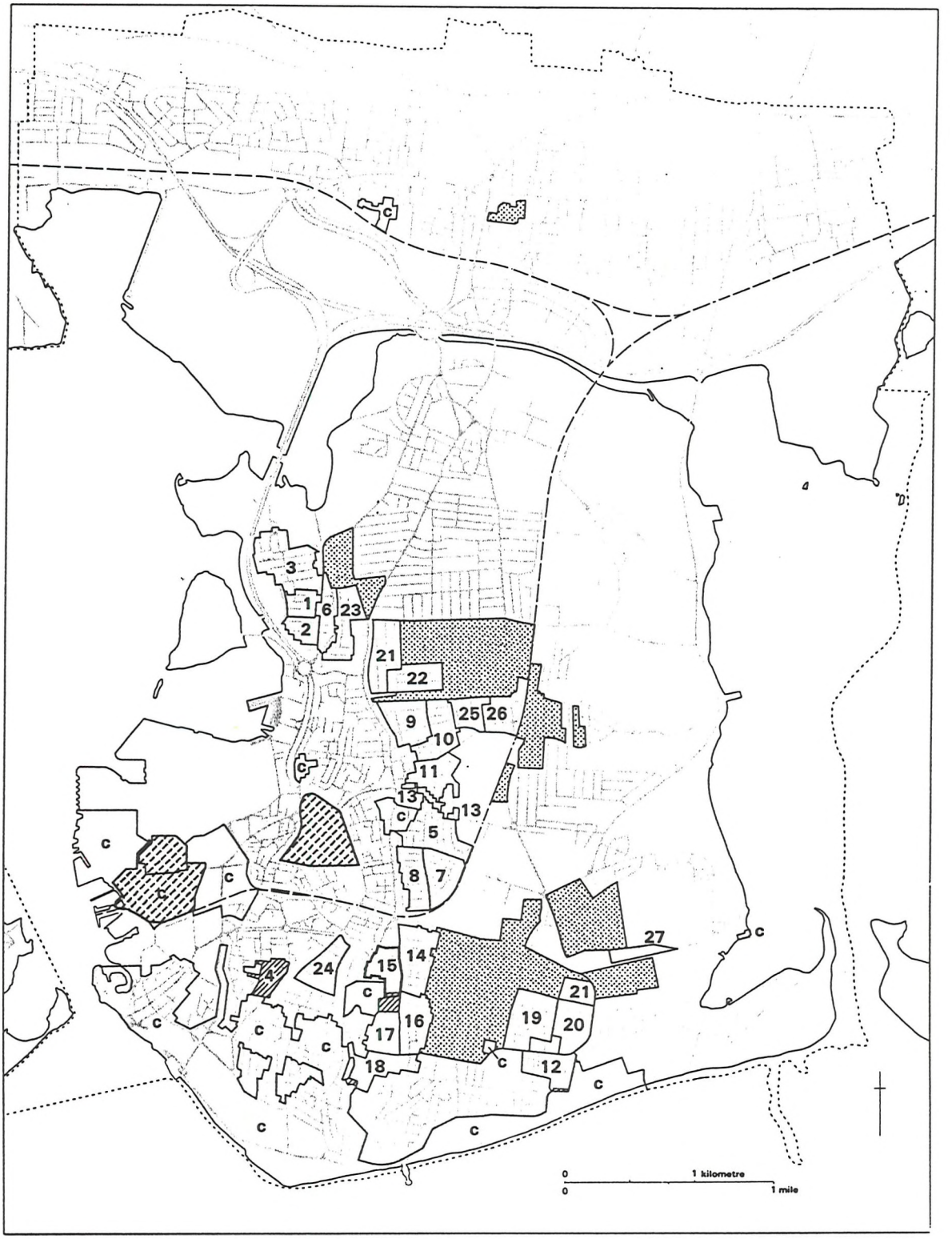


Figure 7.1 General improvement areas in Portsmouth

Source: City Planning Department

The major characteristics of Portsmouth's G.I.A.s are illustrated in Fig. 7.2, with the variation in built environment, population structure and housing tenure indicated. As can be seen, with two exceptions (Stamshaw 3 with one thousand dwellings, and St. Mary's Road, Buckland with a mere 173), G.I.A.s are approximately the same size. They comprise a few hundred dwellings and each having over one thousand inhabitants. There is also relatively little variation in the net density of their population, reflecting the lack of open space. Similarly, there is considerable homogeneity apparent in the age structure of these neighbourhoods in at least the proportion of elderly people (over 65 in G.I.A.s 1 - 14, and over 60 in G.I.A.s 15-22). As far as housing tenure is concerned, again, apart from a few exceptions (notably Stamshaw Island and St. Mary's Road in which properties had been purchased by the Council in advance of road construction proposals), a high rate of home ownership is characteristic. The outstanding impression given in Fig. 7.2 is one of overall uniformity between G.I.A.s.

The process of declaring a G.I.A. and the agreement and approval over its scheme for environmental improvements is a lengthy and complex one. The major stages are listed in Fig. 7.3. These will be outlined at this stage although consultation over environmental schemes will be analysed in more detail later. The statutory section 28 Report comprises a detailed description of the area - its size, location, land-use, housing stage, age structure and tenure. The views of local residents (based on a questionnaire handed to occupants whilst housing officials are inspecting properties) are also recorded. The Department of the Environment also requires a brief note of how the public have and are being consulted in the course of the establishment of a G.I.A. The residents' committee, elected on a street basis, performs a key role in the formation of an environmental scheme. Once such a committee has been elected, it is involved in close and continuous contact with planning officials in framing a plan which is acceptable to residents. Finally, when the detailed financial implications of proposed improvements have been worked out, the plan is implemented over a period of five to six years. During this time, individual householders are encouraged to apply for home improvement grants and properties are being brought up to acceptable standards.

	NAME	DWELLINGS	(1982) % Improved	Population	Net density	% Elderly	% Owner-Occupied	% Private rented	% Council
1	STAMSHAW (1)	420	85	1068	77				
2	STAMSHAW (2)	324	89	936	61		54	42	4
3	STAMSHAW (3)	1018	73	2779	57	12	60	26	14
4	SOUTHSEA *(King Street)*	294	82	665	56	16	15	22	63
5	FRATTON NORTH	966	66	1465	76	18	60	29	11
6	STAMSHAW ISLAND	383	53	1072	60	18	43	41	16
7	FRATTON SOUTH (1)	767	52	1880	79	21	78	18	2
8	FRATTON SOUTH (2)	616	56	1381	65	21	69	16	5
9	BUCKLAND *(Binsted Road)*	570	55	1425	55	20	60	26	3
10	BUCKLAND *(Cyprus Road)*	671	50	1724	66	18	58	21	2
11	BUCKLAND *(Hampshire Street)*	558	61	1404	63	19	75	17	8
12	EASTNEY *(Tokar Street)*	612	52	1365	74	28	71	23	6
13	BUCKLAND *(St. Mary's Road)*	173	45	414	74	17	40	15	45
14	SOUTHSEA *(Manners Road)*	770	62	1886	60	21	72	20	8
15	SOUTHSEA *(Stansted Road)*	526	59	1231	68	21	79	17	4
16	SOUTHSEA *(Darlington Road)*	576	60	1457	60	19	77	20	3
17	SOUTHSEA *(Oxford Road)*	488	56	1048	76	19	75	24	1
18	SOUTHSEA *(Duncan Road)*	508	58	1138	68	21	74	24	2
19	EASTNEY *(Maxwell Road)*	743	53	1723	74	18	85	13	1
20	EASTNEY *(Prince Albert Road)*	617	52	1456	76	37	78	16	6
21	NORTH END *(Portchester Road)*	594	51	1544	54	11	88	10	2
22	NORTH END *(Emsworth Road)*	554		1335	58	20	86	13	1
	TOTAL	12,748							

Figure 7.2 Characteristics of G.I.A.s in Portsmouth

Source: City Planning Department
Section 28 Reports on G.I.A.s 1-22

1	Housing survey including a questionnaire on desired environmental improvements
2	Preparation of a section 28 Report into a profile of the area
3	Submission to the Department of the Environment
4	Declaration by the City Council
5	Public meeting to inform local residents about the aims and procedures of G.I.A.s and inviting them to form a residents' committee
6	Residents' committee established
7	(for G.I.A.s 7 - 22) second questionnaire on preferred environmental improvements
8	Environmental scheme approved by the residents' committee
9	Scheme costed and approved by Council committees
10	Approval by the City Council
11	Grant approval given by Department of the Environment
12	Scheme implemented over a five-year period in consultation with the G.I.A. working party; residents, the residents' committee; and corporation departments

Figure 7.3 Main stages in declaration and operation of a G.I.A.

Source: City Planning Department

The actual time scale involved in Portsmouth's G.I.A. programme is shown in Fig. 7.4 and details of its cost and progress in Fig. 7.5.

The key agencies in the formulation, approval and implementation of G.I.A. schemes are indicated in Fig. 7.6. Although other departments and committees of the city council play an important part, as indicated, the schemes are co-ordinated by the environmental section of the planning department. Each G.I.A. has an officer from this department who is responsible for the day-to-day consultation with the residents' committee before and after approval of the scheme. The G.I.A. working party (comprising councillors from the planning committee and elected members for wards covered by G.I.A.s) meets every six weeks and is also attended by officers of all departments concerned. It is the main executive agency which monitors the programme on behalf of the city council. It makes recommendations concerning resource allocation and priorities within the financial and planning constraints set by central government and the city council.

	Housing Survey	Declaration	Initial public meeting	Residents' Committee established	Scheme Agreed	Work commenced	Completion date
1	10/70	16/ 2/71	5/ 5/71	18/ 5/71	8/ 9/71	3/72	Completed
2	11/70	12/10/71	15/12/71	26/ 1/72	14/ 6/72	1/73	Completed
3	11/71	11/ 1/72	1/ 3/73	7/ 3/73	18/ 4/73	11/74	82/83
4	11/72	20/ 2/73	17/ 7/73	17/ 7/73	21/ 1/74	3/75	83/84
5	12/73	30/ 7/74	2/ 6/75	23/ 6/75	10/ 5/76	11/76	82/83
6	5/75	30/ 7/75	6/10/76	1/ 2/77	27/10/76	2/77	82/83
7	1/76	16/11/76	15/12/76	1/ 2/77	3/10/77	1/78	82/83
8	8/76	15/ 2/77	14/ 4/79	15/ 6/77	27/ 2/78	7/78	83/84
9	11/76	11/10/77	8/ 3/78	29/ 6/78	26/ 4/79	10/79	85/86
10	6/77	10/ 1/78	8/ 3/78	29/ 6/78	9/ 5/79	10/79	85/86
11	11/77	20/ 6/78	31/ 7/78	27/ 9/78	5/ 9/79	12/79	85/86
12	6/78	9/ 1/79	21/ 3/79	13/ 9/79	20/ 2/80	3/80	86/87
13	8/78	6/ 6/79	20/ 6/79	19/ 7/79	29/ 8/79	3/80	85/86
14	10/78	27/ 3/79	26/ 6/79	31/ 7/79	13/ 5/80	7/80	86/87
15	4/79	9/10/79	29/11/79	15/ 1/80	27/10/80	12/80	87/88
16	6/79	25/ 3/80	9/ 6/80	30/ 6/80	11/ 5/81	4/81	87/88
17	9/79	25/ 3/80	10/ 6/80	1/ 7/80	7/ 9/81	7/81	87/88
18	12/79	22/ 7/80	3/11/80	2/12/80	10/11/81	10/81	88/89
19	9/80	24/ 3/81	1/ 6/81	1/ 7/81	21/ 7/82	3/83	88/89
20	10/80	28/ 7/81	4/11/81	2/12/81	29/11/82	11/83	88/89
21	12/80	5/ 1/82	14/ 4/82	8/ 6/82	--	--	89/90
22	9/81	23/ 3/83	15/ 7/82	16/ 9/82	--	--	89/90

Figure 7.4 Time scale of G.I.A. programme in Portsmouth (at September, 1982)

Source: City Planning Department Section 28 Report on G.I.A. 27

	000s £ Total Estimated Cost	000s £ Final Cost	Cost per dwelling 000s £ Estimated	Final	% Completed
1	--	122	290	--	100
2	201	342	620	1000	100
3	324	431	318	423	94
4	180	185	612	632	85
5	437	469	452	485	97
6	190	--	496	--	99
7	292	--	380	--	99
8	243	256	394	416	76
9	299	339	525	594	52
10	337	356	502	530	35
11	276	--	495	--	27
12	501	--	819	--	36
13	90	--	518	--	28
14	368	--	479	--	40
15	437	--	831	--	20
16	465	--	809	--	10
17	311	--	638	--	7
18	363	--	715	--	1
19	595	--	800	--	--
20	390	--	632	--	--
21	--	--	--	--	--
22	--	--	--	--	--

Figure 7.5 Cost and degree of completion of G.I.A. schemes (at September, 1982)

Source: City Planning Department Section 28 Report on G.I.A. 27

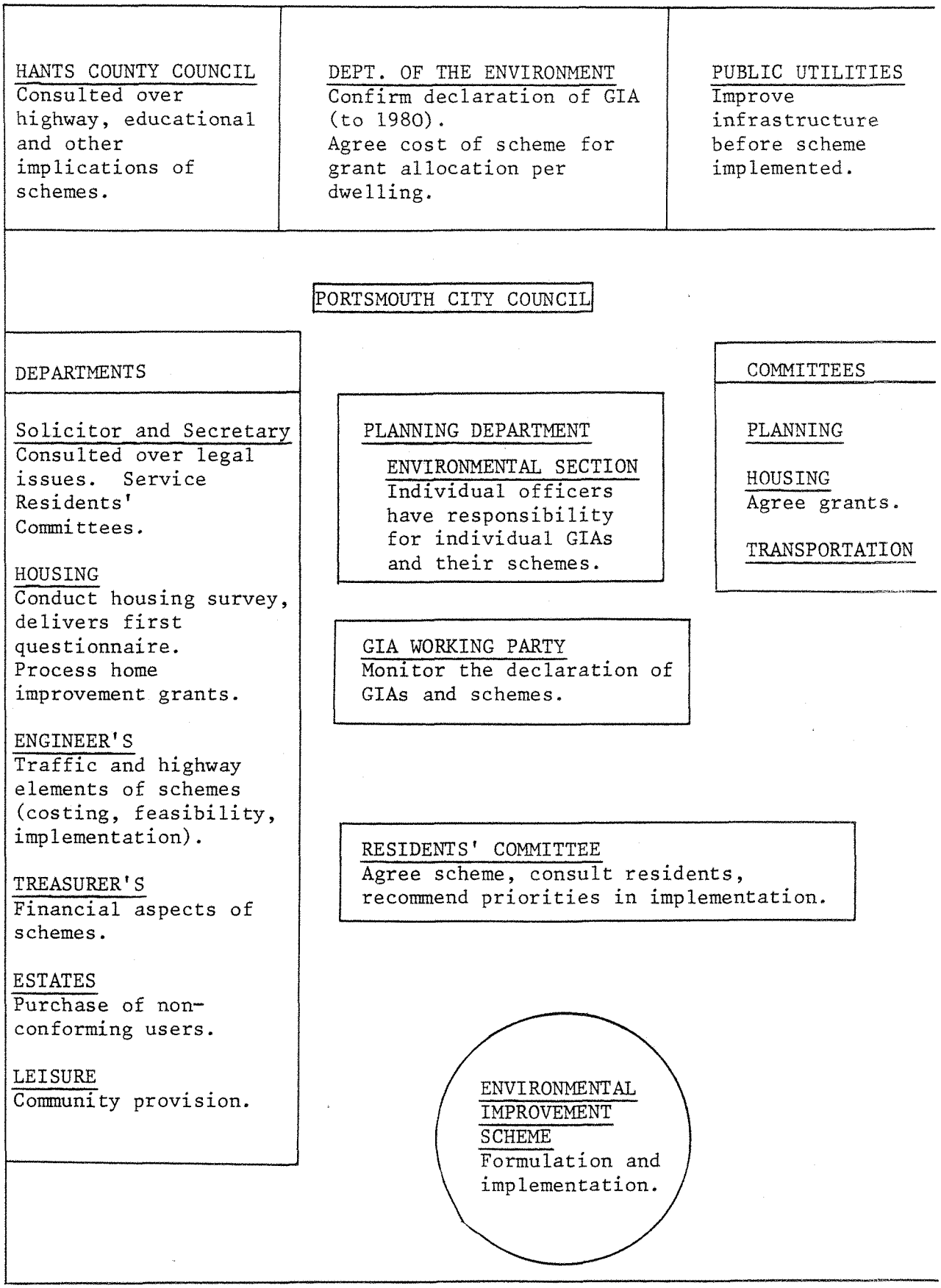


Figure 7.6 Organisations involved in G.I.A. environmental improvement schemes

Source: City Planning Department

Its recommendations are made to the planning and housing committees and eventually to the city council. The role of the residents' committee is essentially to help formulate a scheme of environmental improvements, approve it, and be involved in any adjustments required in its implementation. In the early years, this role was more limited in so far as it was expected to merely approve a plan prepared by planning officers and agreed by councillors. By the mid-1970s, in order to maintain a desired two-way exchange of information with residents, the city council initiated a system of public meetings followed by the formation of a residents' committee based on street representation. Over the years, in the interests of obtaining the best cooperation with residents, this system has gradually become more sophisticated. Chairman of residents' committees and planning officers also keep in contact between normal meetings, and a disused shop in any district where there are several G.I.A.s is converted into an information office.

(ii) Schemes of environmental improvement

The two main objectives of G.I.A.s are to modernise the housing stock and to improve the quality of the residential environment. In relation to the first aim landlords and owner occupiers of properties which have not been improved are encouraged to apply for grants. The latter is, as already noted, achieved by drawing up a scheme for improvements to be carried out over a number of years. In Portsmouth, these schemes have comprised seven major components - (1) Having given the opportunity for the public utility companies to repair or renew gas and water pipes, and electricity and telephone lines, roads are re-surfaced and pavements are re-laid; street lighting is also upgraded; (2) Traffic control measures are instituted to alleviate problems of through traffic and safety and usually include one-way systems, road closures and parking restrictions; (3) Business premises which are felt to be noxious and incompatible (by virtue of their size, unsightliness, and the amount of noise or traffic that they generate) are purchased and buildings may be used for community use and pockets of land for landscaped areas, play spaces or car parking; (4) New housing, often for elderly people, is built on infill sites; (5) Trees and shrubs are planted, in landscaped, small open spaces; (6) Rear access to houses is improved; (7) Additional 'street furniture' is provided, for example waste-bins, post-boxes, telephone kiosks, and seats.

Naturally schemes are not identical. Variations occur as a result of the opportunities offered by the existing structure of land-uses, problems raised by residents, their priorities and the amount of finance available. The total estimated cost of current schemes and the actual cost of completed ones is shown in Fig. 7.5 as is the cost per dwelling. This table also indicates a general trend of increasing expenditure as the programme has proceeded, also the extent (by September, 1982) to which environmental schemes had been completed.

(iii) The evolution of the consultation process

When the G.I.A. programme was initiated the planning department had little detailed guidelines from central government on *how* to consult the public in the general improvement areas being designated. In the early days, in Stamshaw, it was decided to prepare *several* plans of environmental improvement for each area and present them at public meetings for comment. As will be seen, this strategy tended to generate dissension amongst residents and cause delay. In G.I.A.s 3 and 4 a second tactic was tried. A single plan for an area was prepared by the planning staff and delivered as a fait accompli to residents. Not surprisingly reactions were mixed. Finally, in G.I.A. 5 the pattern of consultation, which was to be employed thereafter in all future G.I.A.s was established. Before any plan was drafted a residents committee was formed. Then a detailed questionnaire was drawn up and delivered which asked residents for their suggestions for environmental improvements. The preferences exposed in the survey were then aggregated into a plan for which the approval of the residents committee was necessary. The gradual evolution of this consultation process will now be described in greater detail. The purpose of this is not only to show how the present system evolved by 'trial and error' but because it provides insights into the functions of G.I.A. participation and the attitudes of councillors and officers.

The first local public meeting associated with G.I.A.s in Portsmouth took place in April, 1971. A platform party, led by the Lord Mayor and comprising four chief officers and a spokesman from the D.O.E. explained what G.I.A.s were all about to residents of Stamshaw.

A representative body of residents, would be formed so that there was an organisation through which the council could communicate with residents. The council hoped that 'the committee would be more than just a complaints body and would undertake a more positive role'. (Minutes of meeting held on 8th May 1971).

Several schemes had been prepared in consultation with the Department of the Environment for consideration and assessment. Once one of these plans had been accepted by the council then there would be a meeting with the residents' committee to discuss it and obtain their views on it. Clearly, the council were, at this stage, anxious to present some definite proposals to the public but, at the same time, to reassure them that no definite decision had been taken on any plan to be adopted. Following this introduction, the residents who were at the meeting separated into various parts of the hall, corresponding to the roads in which they lived, in order to elect representatives. A committee comprising eight residents and 3 co-opted councillors emerged. The first action of the committee was to pass unanimously the following resolution:

> 'Before the Development and Estates Committee reach any decision about the plan they think best for the environmental improvements of the first G.I.A. in Stamshaw, they be requested to have a joint meeting with the Residents' Committee'.
>
> (Minutes of 8th May Meeting)

It was agreed that the representative should be provided with a set of plans.

By the Autumn of that year the residents' committee had prepared its own scheme which, unlike those of the council, involved little or no demolition of dwellings. However, this proposal was deemed unacceptable by officers since, it was argued, the Department of the Environment was against schemes which made a minimal impact. Eventually a compromise plan involving the demolition of only sixteen houses was agreed by all sides. Behind the acceptance of the official plan lay an element of coercion, for residents were told that -

'if the residents did not decide which scheme they wanted, the council might give up the idea of an improvement area for Stamshaw and another area might be chosen instead'.

(Minutes of 8th September meeting 1971)

At the first public meeting held in relation to G.I.A. 3 a committee was elected and then asked for their observations on a detailed improvement plan which had already been formed. A lengthy and heated debate ensued on that occasion, and at later meetings, particularly over the development of an existing factory site for a new leisure centre. By June, 1975, when G.I.A. 5 was being discussed a different strategy had been adopted by planning officers. Categorical assurances were given that no 'cut and dried plan' existed. It was explained that 'final proposals will only be drawn up *after* listening to the views of the residents', and that it was to be 'with the residents' committee that the council will consult over the working out of a scheme'. Also, further public meetings would be held 'as the scheme unfolded' (Minutes of G.I.A. 5 public meeting, 2nd June, 1975). Again however veiled threats were also given to the effect that long protracted argument amongst residents would delay the commencement of actually bringing about improvements in the area.

By the declaration of G.I.A. 7, a programme of full public consultation prior to any plan being formulated had been well established. Council officers announced they

'had come with a blank sheet to try and start forming some ideas with the residents' committee. It was an exercise in partnership between yourself and the council'.

(Minutes of G.I.A. 7 public meeting 15th December).

Although anxious to be seen to have open minds, officers still reminded their audiences environmental improvements might be limited by cost factors and also the dense built environment of Fratton.

'Some suggestions from the public might be impracticable because of financial or physical constraints, or because they conflicted with sound planning principles, the law or essential highway requirements'.

(Minutes of G.I.A. 7, public meeting, 15th December).

Thus, the practice adopted by the city council towards consulting the public over environmental schemes in G.I.A.s in the early years, showed more than a little ambiguity and naivety. The ambiguity arose from three factors. First, there was the need to comply with the government's requirement that the public be consulted, though no detailed guidelines for such consultation were laid down. Secondly, the council had to tread a difficult path between initially presenting a fixed detailed plan (which could arouse vociferous opposition) and too minimal a stance (which might lead to over ambitious expectations and unrealistic demands from residents). Thirdly, while consultation benefitted the council - it permitted the resource constraints to be put directly to residents, thus educating them in 'financial realities' - it also meant coping with conflicting demands from areas and individuals. In spite of these difficulties, however, following some vexing and acrimonious experiences in Stamshaw, a carefully conceived routine had been established by the time G.I.A.s were being established in Fratton. Thus, by the mid-1970s, the official view of the role of a residents' committee was as follows -

> 'The committee will be a central point for all the creative ideas raised by residents in the area .... the council will give it all possible help in order that they may consult properly with residents. The council's committees will take notice of the various points made by the residents committee .... in other areas if they were in favour of particular schemes it was these schemes which were subsequently adopted by the city council'.
>
> (Minutes of the second public meeting in G.I.A. 5, 23rd June 1975).

At the inaugural public meeting for Fratton South, (G.I.A. 7), on 15th December, 1976, the role of the residents committee in consulting the public was further stressed -

> 'it was an exercise in partnership .... it is physically impossible to deal directly with 767 householders so we want you, at the end of the meeting, to elect a residents committee on the basis of representatives from each street with whom the officials can consult .... the committee must be truly representative but it must not be unwieldy. We will start with a blank sheet of paper and try to start forming ideas for a scheme; as ideas are formulated so street representatives will consult householders in their street for their views on suggestions put forward'.
>
> (Minutes of the meeting).

This procedure allowed residents' committees (within certain constraints) to formulate their own scheme on the basis of a detailed questionnaire and with the aid of 'strip maps' (sketch maps of individual streets) by which individual street representatives consulted their neighbours. This system had been devised to be used, with minor modifications, throughout the city's G.I.A. programme. In this way the council and its officers hoped to avoid the pitfalls of ambiguity and equity while ensuring a relative smooth implementation of the programme. It also demonstrates two further important features of such exercises in formal consultation. First, the council and officers underwent a learning process in which they were obliged to modify their initial stances, and the whole tone of their interaction with residents. Secondly, the key to this evolution was genuine worry of having to 'deal directly with 767 households'. To try to do so would have meant problems for individual councillors as well as officers and would have increased the administrative burden of processing such individual requests considerably. For the council, then, the residents' committees were crucial *intermediaries*. As such they had, from the council's point of view, a number of specific virtues. They were elected and could be held to speak for the residents (thus potentially diffusing dissent). They were also fully incorporated into the process and would have to behave responsibly . They could transmit the council's views to the people as well as vice-versa.

(iv) Levels of participation

Bearing in mind that public consultation in G.I.A.s serves a number of functions, what about the scope and intensity of public participation over environmental improvements? How have the public responded between different G.I.A.s, in terms of attending public meetings, raising issues at such meetings, volunteering to serve as street representatives on residents' committees, returning questionnaires and attending regular or special meetings of residents' committees? The detailed process of consultation will be examined for one G.I.A., but the scale of participation in G.I.A.s 7 - 22 is shown in Fig. 7.7. (The earlier G.I.A.s are not included in this analysis because of their varied and uneven consultation). Some indication of the numbers involved can be judged by the total of column A of this

No.	% Households returning First Questionnaire	No. of residents at first public meeting	(% of) population	as % of dwellings	Points raised at first public meeting	No. of residents staying behind at end of meeting	Return of Second Questionnaires A	B	C
7	57	175	(9)	(23)	9	22	530	28	63
8	58	150	(11)	(24)	13	20	343	25	56
9	48	190	(13)	(33)	6	20	355	25	62
10	57	180	(10)	(27)	8	21	321	19	48
11	55	150	(11)	(27)	8	21	396	28	71
12	71	200	(15)	(33)	11	26	431	32	70
13	54	40	(10)	(23)	9	6	110	27	62
14	61	140	(7)	(18)	12	14	515	27	67
15	68	250	(20)	(48)	17	22	370	30	70
16	58	200	(14)	(35)	11	25	339	23	59
17	68	140	(13)	(29)	10	28	327	31	67
18	48	140	(12)	(28)	16	26	290	25	57
19	61	150	(9)	(20)	20	22	531	31	72
20	51	100	(7)	(16)	17	14	409	28	66
21	57	140	(9)	(24)	23	19	342	22	58
22	60	210	(16)	(38)	18	33	336	25	65

Key: A - Number of second questionnaires returned
B - % of total population
C - % of total dwellings

Figure 7.7 Participation by residents in GIAs 7-22

Source: City Planning Department, GIAs 1-22 reports and files

figure. More than 2,500 residents attended the sixteen initial public meetings and nearly 6000 completed and returned the questionnaires, the answers to which formed the basis of proposals for schemes of environmental improvements. While only an average of 12 per cent of the total population (which includes, of course, children) attended initial public meetings, more than one-quarter of households showed sufficient interest to find out what their neighbourhood being declared as a G.I.A. meant. Perhaps even more impressive were the 336 people who volunteered to play an active part in representing their street on the residents' committee and the high percentage of completed and returned questionnaires (overall 63 per cent of dwellings).

Fig. 7.7 also indicates that, while the level of participation did vary as between G.I.A.s, there were no pronounced and consistent disparities. For example, although relatively few residents in G.I.A. 14 attended the public meeting, a higher than average number of proportion of households returned the questionnaire. In contrast, in G.I.A. 15, the public appear to be consistently involved to a higher degree. Statistical correlations between size, (dwellings/population), density, tenure; and age structure and length of residence and levels of participation, are indicated in Fig. 7.8.

% owner occupiers and % households returning first questionnaire	r = + 0.11
% owner occupiers and % households returning second questionnaire	r = + 0.25
% council tenants and % households returning second questionnaire	r = + 0.08
% owner occupiers and % households attending first public meeting	r = + 0.09
% elderly and % households attending first public meeting	r = + 0.09
% returning first questionnaire and % returning second questionnaire	r = + 0.46

Figure 7.8 Statistical association between G.I.A.s (7-22) characteristics and participation rates

Source: City Planning Department

These indicate positive but weak associations except in the case of the return of the two questionnaires.

(v) Street representation

One of the significant features of public consultation in G.I.A.s is the system of street representatives. Each member of the residents committee being responsible for about two dozen houses usually in the road in which he or she lives. A concerted though informal attempt was made in all G.I.A.s to match the number and residential location of volunteers who stayed behind at the initial public meeting with the number, size and distribution of streets in such a way as to ensure a comprehensive system of small scale representation. When this was not possible, because of geographical imbalance or overall shortfall of volunteers, planning officials, together with the officers and existing members of the residents' committee, worked out a more ad hoc solution. A full coverage was generally achieved by seeking new representatives in the 'deficit' areas and persuading existing members to represent householders in streets other than their own. Likewise, when members resigned through ill-health, moving house or lack of interest, informal attempts were made to replace them. The detailed structure of street representation in one G.I.A. is shown in Fig. 7.9 and the corresponding areas of actual representation on Fig. 7.10. In this G.I.A. as in others, street representatives covering a block of twenty or so houses in their immediate locality was judged to be a satisfactory system to foster communications. To have expected representatives to cover a wider area or larger block of households was thought to be unrealistic in that their duties included not only delivering letters and questionnaires to householders but also, in some G.I.A.s, collecting completed questionnaires and physically taking the appropriate street map of the scheme to each household and soliciting comments for them. All this in addition to attending six weekly committee meetings meant that a considerable degree of responsibility - not to say burden - was placed on street representatives. To enhance their 'visibility' street representatives were encouraged to place officially designed notices in their front windows.

(vi) Case study: G.I.A. 15

To examine the detailed process of public participation in relation to environmental improvements, one G.I.A. has been singled out for analysis. G.I.A. 15 was declared approximately halfway through the current programme of consultation in G.I.A.s 7 - 22 which was outlined

Street	Side	No. of Dwellings	Groups of Properties	Persons
Rugby Road	S	20	All	1
Fawcett Road	W	47	Nos. 56 to 120 Nos. 124 to 174	1
Britannia Road	N & W	16	Nos. 21-47	1
North	E	20	Nos. 40 and 46 to 80	1
Harrow Road	E & W	21	All	1
Eton Road	E & W	22	All	1
Cleveland Road	N	29	Nos. 2 to 46, 52 to 62	1
	S & E	27	Nos. 1-51	1
Lawson Road	N	31	Nos. 2-60	1
	N, W & S	31	Nos. 62 to 104, 61 to 77	1
	S	30	Nos. 1 to 59	1
Stansted Road	N	31	Nos. 2 to 62	1
	N & S	31	Nos. 64 to 90, 1 to 33	1
	S	31	Nos. 35 to 71, 75 and 77, 95 to 115	1
Holland Road	N & S	25	All	1
Grenville Road	E & W	30	All	1
Norland Road	E & W	25	All	1
Addison Road and Lawrence Road (part)	N & S	20	All	1
	E	7	Nos. 85 to 97	
Britannia Road	E & W	32	All	1
		526		19

Figure 7.9 The structure of street representation in G.I.A. 15

Source: City Planning Department, G.I.A. 15 files

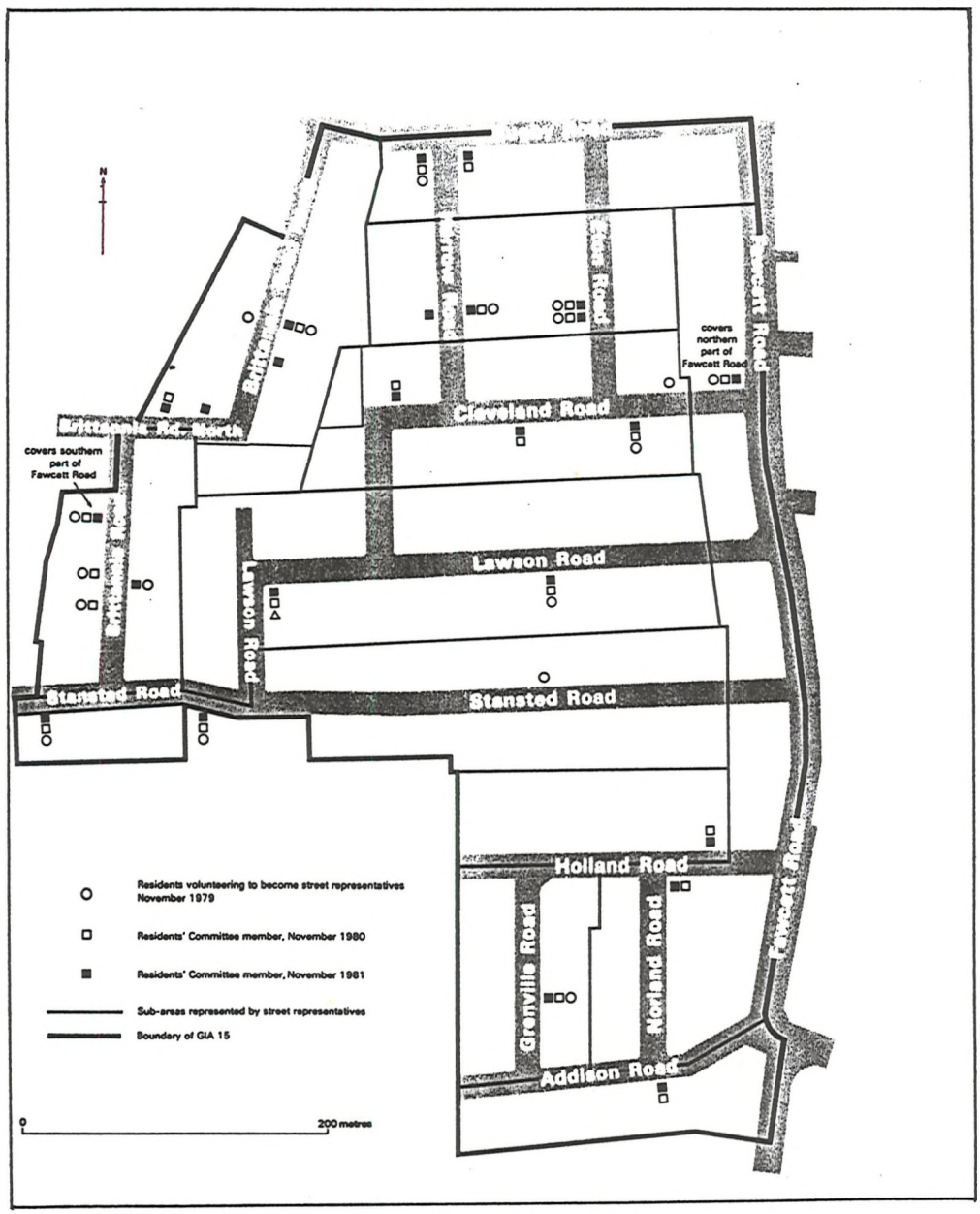


Figure 7.10 Pattern of street representation in G.I.A. 15

Source: City Planning Department, G.I.A. 15 files

above. As can be seen in Fig. 7.1, the area designated as G.I.A. 15 is located in west-central Southsea. It is bounded by the site of a secondary school to the north, Fawcett Road in the east and Stansted and Addison Roads in the south (Fig. 7.15). It is typical in the sense of being densely built-up. Nearby is the Cumberland Road area which was blighted and has been demolished to give way for a new motorway. On declaration, it had a total population of 1,231, living in 526 dwellings, of which 79% were owner-occupied, 17% privately rented and 4% council property. The bulk of dwellings have brick terraced houses (433) with only 3 detached, and 23 semi-detached houses. Relatively few houses had been substantially improved while, in constrast, a substantial number were lacking in basic amenities (65 had no fixed bath or shower, 104 lacked a inside W.C.). Apart from shops on Fawcett Road, there were few non-residential properties in the area. In 1980 there were 204 households in which the head of household was over 60 years old and 108 families with children. 151 households had lived in the area for more than 20 years, compared to the 127 new households (less than 5 years resident).

In summary, therefore, G.I.A. 15 comprised a small section of residential Southsea: a fairly elderly stable population combined with a few younger first home buyers. The infrastructure was certainly in need of renewal with uneven pavements, potholed roads, car parking congestion, and a lack of open spaces. The congestion of the area can be seen from the fact that a total of over 200 motor vehicles were owned by residents in G.I.A. 15, which had only 8 houses with garages. Furthermore, traders and customers of businesses in Fawcett Road, teachers and evening-class students at Priory School and punters at the nearby Salon Bingo Hall all used the side roads for parking. At the same time, from the results of the questionnaire distributed before declaration, it was obvious that despite having some definite ideas about the need for environmental improvements, most residents liked the area, especially its centrality.

(a) The views of residents expressed in the first questionnaire and public meeting.

As noted earlier, prior to the declaration of the G.I.A., and in the course of a housing survey conducted by officials from the Environmental Health Department, residents are given a questionnaire

in which they can express their views on how the area should be improved. In G.I.A. 15 420 dwellings were inspected out of a total of 526. The results of the survey showed that residents liked the centrality (55 per cent), friendliness (17 per cent) and quietness (7 per cent) of the area, but indicated their dislike for some of the shops in Fawcett Road and the non-conforming businesses in the area. Preferences for improvements expressed at this early stage in the public consultation exercise can be seen in Fig. 7.11. Planning officers did not at this stage highlight specific concerns, although the reportedly severe problem of parking congestion in parts of the area was noted.

The second opportunity that residents were given to express their feelings about the area and its problems was provided at a public meeting when 250 locals gathered to hear from senior councillors and officials about the forthcoming declaration of their G.I.A. Residents were not slow to express their views and a total of twenty different issues were raised. These included the behaviour of local school children, parking congestion, speeding by through traffic, dirty and uneven pavements, and the lack of litter bins and public toilets. Over half the two hour meeting was given over to the airing of these grumbles.

1	More attractive paving materials (48 per cent)
2	Better street lighting (45 per cent)
3	Trees and shrubs (42 per cent)
4	Children's play space (42 per cent)
5	Closure of streets to stop through traffic (40 per cent)
6	Off-street parking (40 per cent)
7	Lock-up garages (36 per cent)
8	Seats (33 per cent)
9	Removal of industries/businesses (31 per cent)
10	Give up gardens to provide rear access (11 per cent)

Figure 7.11 List of preferences expressed in the first questionnaire for environmental improvements

Source: City Planning Department, G.I.A. 15 files.

(b) Preferences for environmental improvements expressed in the second questionnaire.

The second questionnaire was to be delivered and collected by street representatives, was discussed at the meeting of the residents' committee on 28th April, 1980. Only a few minor amendments were made to the 'model' questionnaire which was suggested by planners and had been used in earlier G.I.A.s (Appendix E). As indicated in Fig. 7.7, a total of 370 households in G.I.A. 15 returned the second questionnaire. This time more detailed information on possible environmental improvements was solicited. The results of the survey were written up in a report by the G.I.A. 15 planning officer.

With respect to parking congestion, he noted that in the north-west corner of the area this was a severe problem. (All car owners in the two Britannia Roads and two-thirds in Lawson, Fawcett, Rugby, Eton and Stansted Roads reported they experienced difficulty in parking). Few people wanted off-street parking to be provided apart from those in Britannia Road (75 per cent), and Fawcett Road (70 per cent). There was much more support for provision of lock-up garages. A total of 187 respondents were in favour of road resurfacing, many coming from Eton and Cleveland Roads. Even more popular was the proposal that pavements should be resurfaced - 63 per cent of those responding to the survey were in favour. Heavy traffic was pin-pointed as a cause of environmental stress and 49 per cent of respondents favoured parking restrictions. A large minority of residents welcomed the possibility that the area should be 'landscaped' this was a particularly popular suggestion in Britannia and Norland Roads.

More than 30 per cent of the G.I.A. residents cited businesses that created problems. The businesses reported as generating the most negative inputs were the Justus Garage in Britannia Road North (40 respondents) and the Moderne Bingo Hall (30). Additional facilities that were favoured included children's play space (58 per cent); green open space (44 per cent); sports facilities (37 per cent); and seats (25 per cent). Additional problems which residents felt should be dealt with by the council included the fouling of pavements by dogs (26), irregular drain and street cleaning (25), and anti-social behaviour by school children (14).

These, then, were the major concerns expressed by residents in G.I.A. 15. The questionnaire was designed primarily to elicit details on the environmental problems of the area, as perceived by local people and as such the results are congruent with those obtained from the earlier questionnaire (Fig. 7.11). The questionnaire and therefore the responses to it were not explicit as to the actual steps which should be taken to improve the situation. For example what should be included and omitted from any environmental plans and the order of priorities. Armed with this 'list of concerns' the planning officers assisted by the residents' committee, were left with the task of formulating a scheme which would reflect these preferences. Repaving, road resurfacing, and new street lighting would be undertaken as a matter of course but the survey still demonstrated that there was support from the public for the allocation of funds towards renovating such basic infrastructure. For other issues, variation in the degree of support for specific proposals as between people in different streets constituted a guideline for prioritizing the time and place for implementing improvements in any scheme once approved.

	Total Properties	% returning questionnaire
Britannia Road North	36	82%
Cleveland Road	55	82%
Eton Road	22	86%
Fawcett Road	46	43%
Grenville Road	30	67%
Harrow Road	21	71%
Holland Road	25	92%
Lawson Road	92	65%
Norland Road	25	56%
Stansted Road	94	64%
Rugby Road	20	100%

Figure 7.12 Variation between selected streets in response rate in G.I.A. 15 to second questionnaire

Source: City Planning Department, G.I.A. 15 files.

Fig. 7.12 shows the variation in response rate to the second questionnaire. The pattern is one of a high response rate from purely residential streets and a lower one from shopping roads such as Fawcett Road. A similar pattern was evident in adjoining G.I.A. 14, where only 40 of the 91 dwellings in Fawcett Road returned questionnaires. Flats and maisonettes in these shopping streets often have rear entrances which are difficult for officials and even for local residents to find. In addition, the vacancy rates in such dwellings are higher than elsewhere. Otherwise an uneven response between or within roads must be attributed to varying diligence on the part of street representatives.

(c) Comments on the proposed environmental improvement scheme.

Unlike other G.I.A.s the committee in G.I.A. 15 decided that they would not employ the usual method of ensuring that the proposed plan which they had helped to frame met with the approval of residents. Against the advice of the planning officer, the street representatives decided that, rather than take the relevant parts of the plan around the houses in their patch, they would retain it in their homes and invite residents to scrutinize it there. The detailed response, in terms of numbers of residents taking the opportunity to comment, and their opinions, is indicated in Fig. 7.13. Although the response to this last opportunity to comment on the plan was limited, this should not be necessarily interpreted as apathy or lack of interest. Presumably, all those who objected to parts of the proposed scheme (especially the introduction of trees to be planted in pavement 'bubbles' and consequent loss of parking) had already done so earlier. A few residents took the trouble to inform the street representatives that they generally approved of the scheme. Presumably, the rest either were indifferent, or fully satisfied that their views, expressed earlier at public meetings and in the questionnaires, had been taken into account and already incorporated into the plan. This final round of consultation should be seen, therefore, as a safety net to ensure that the street representatives had been keeping in touch with their neighbours and that the plan really did meet with the approval of most residents. It also ensured that those residents who were to have a tree located outside or near their houses approved of such action.

	Total dwell-ings	Indiv-idual comments	Detailed comments
Addison Road	23	5	(a) opposed to tree planting; (b) natural stone to be used in paving; (c) 'no turn' road sign needed; (d) more parking available and easier access.
Britannia Road	29	9	(a) general approval (3); (b) loss of parking places; (c) opposed to tree planting (2); (d) approved of tree planting (5).
Britannia Road North	37	1	Removal of Justus Garage to be given top priority
Cleveland Road	55	7	(a) opposed to tree planting (2); (b) opposed to play area nearby; (c) prefer a cul-de-sac; (d) general approval (4).
Eton Road	22	1	Complaints about behaviour of school children & builder's yard
Fawcett Road	46	4	(a) no tree planting; (b) loss of parking places (3).
Grenville Road	30	-	-
Harrow Road	21	2	(a) general approval; (b) parking should be permitted on one side of road only
Holland Road	25	2	Concerned with loss of parking (2)
Lawrence Road	7	1	Opposed to tree planing and loss of parking places (in Addison Rd.)
Lawson Road	92	5	(a) opposed to tree planting and loss of parking; (b) general approval (4).
Neville Road	25	-	-
Rugby Road	20	-	-
Stansted Road	94	9	(a) wanted traffic management scheme to reduce through traffic (4); (b) opposed to tree planting and loss of parking; (c) general approval (5).
	Total 526	Total 46	

Figure 7.13 Response (by street) to G.I.A. 15s proposed environmental improvement scheme

Source: City Planning Department, Minutes of G.I.A. 15 Residents' Committee

In the initial stages of the formulation of G.I.A. 15's environmental plan residents were continuously involved either directly or indirectly. In one sense the character of the area and municipal resources available to finance it were acting as parameters but at several stages the views and preferences of local people were sought and considerable efforts were made to ensure that the detailed proposed provisions were acceptable to them. Although at first sight the concerns expressed by residents might seem to be trivial there is little doubt that they do represent genuine quality of life issues characteristic of older Victorian inner city areas of the city.

(d) The environmental improvement scheme agreed and implemented.

As already noted, in the majority of G.I.A.s in the city, the formulation of a scheme for improving the built environment was very much a joint venture between the city council and local residents, with the residents' committee playing a central role. The residents' committee agreed that a scheme be prepared on the basis of the returns from the questionnaire by the planning officer (Mr. Mansell) who had been assigned to G.I.A. 15. A resolution was passed seeking the support of the city council

> 'to ensure the speedy amelioration of all problems raised by the questionnaire particularly the illegal activities of the Justus Garage'.
>
> (Minutes of G.I.A. 15 meeting on 30th June).

A draft scheme was presented to the committee at its next meeting. By way of explanation the planning officer again made the point that because of its compactness, and the lack of open space there was little opportunity for major infrastructural change in the area. The possibility of compulsory purchase of a major nuisance - the Justus Garage - was raised by committee members. The planners said that if the site could be acquired they were in favour of its being used as an off-street park. The committee were adamant that the garage be compulsory purchased but replaced by an open space and play area. Although it was pointed out that such public facilities sometimes caused annoyance to immediate neighbours, the committee were

sure that recreational space was preferable and, as the chairman pointed out, easier to change subsequently if problems did arise.

At its September meeting, an amended plan for the area was on display. Additions to the earlier draft, made at the suggestion of committee members, were for more street lights, an additional pedestrian crossing, and extra landscaping on end-of-terrace walls. A possible design for a small park on the garage site was also shown. At its October meeting a final decision on the draft environmental scheme was deferred because both the chairman and vice-chairman were unable to be present. It was reported however that, while the response on the part of the residents to the street maps had generally been poor, (Fig. 7.13) people in a few roads had suggested alterations. In Lawson Road, for example, the proposal to provide trees was vociferously opposed and a petition protesting about this part of the scheme was raised and presented to the chairman of the G.I.A. committee. Two weeks later the committee met again at which time opposition to the creation of a play area to replace the garage was voiced by six residents from Britannia Road North. After some discussion, however, they agreed to withdraw their opposition provided lock-up gates were supplied. The committee also decided that the Lawson Road petition 'could not be ignored' and, accordingly, trees proposed for this road were deleted from the plan. Elsewhere the siting of individual trees was dependent not only on there being no underground services which would be obstructed but also securing the agreement of individual residents living adjacent to their proposed location.

On 27th October (1980) (at 9.31 p.m.) the environmental improvement scheme (Fig. 7.14) was unanimously agreed by the residents' committee. At the following meeting they were delighted to hear confirmation that, in spite of the cost, the council intended to acquire the Justus Garage and create a neighbourhood park on the site. Also at this meeting issues which were outside the proposed scheme, such as traffic management and anti-social behaviour by school children, were discussed as was the timetable for the implementation of the scheme. (The city council, of course, had first to ratify the plan). The results of a traffic survey of the area were reported by a representative of the city engineer's

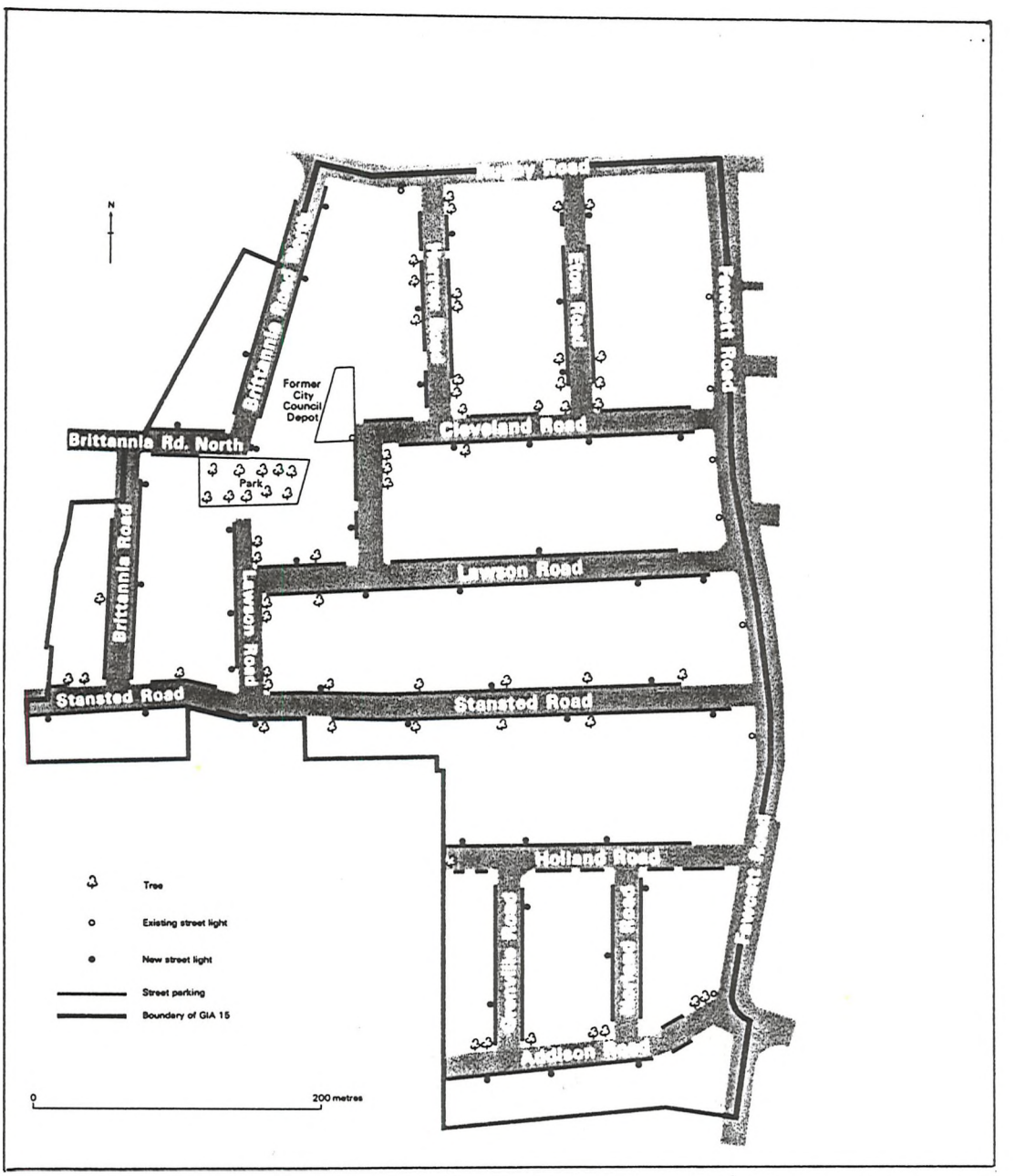


Figure 7.14 The environmental improvement scheme for G.I.A. 15

Source: City Planning Department

department, and a discussion ensued as to the priorities for the five year environmental works in the area. It was agreed that the acquisition of Justus Garage should be the first priority, but accepted that work could not start immediately on pavement renovation because the public utility companies, notably Southern Gas, had to be first given the opportunity to renovate their pipes. In the interests of 'fairness' (since the Justus Garage was located in the north-west of the G.I.A.) the Addison and Holland Roads area in the south-east were selected by the committee for initial road, pavement and street lighting renewal. At subsequent meetings it was agreed that Stansted Road should be given top priority for new streetlights.

The committee re-affirmed its support for the acquisition of the Justus Garage deeming it again to be its first priority.

During the remainder of 1981 the lack of progress in implementing the scheme was discussed by the committee. Officials explained the delay by arguing that because the Justus Garage had been given top priority and represented a major financial commitment, other improvements were being delayed until the next financial year.

In March 1982, concern was still being expressed by street representatives that progress was minimal in G.I.A. 15 as compared to adjoining G.I.A.s. They pointed out that the fate of the council depot had still not been decided, and there was little evidence of road improvements over most of the area. (In fact, the public utility companies were busily re-laying pipes, thus adding to the general deterioration of road surfaces). One resident in Cleveland Road reported scornfully that she had no need to go away to the Lake District on holiday since there were so many hills and lakes on the roads outside her house! In 1983, however, roads had been renovated in the southern of the G.I.A. and were (as finance became available) being initiated elsewhere. By 1984 the Justus Garage had been demolished and in the summer of that year the park was formally opened by the Lord Mayor.

(e) Councillors and G.I.A. 15

Prior to the reorganisation of electoral wards in the city (see Chapter V, section C), G.I.A. 15 was in St. Thomas ward. However,

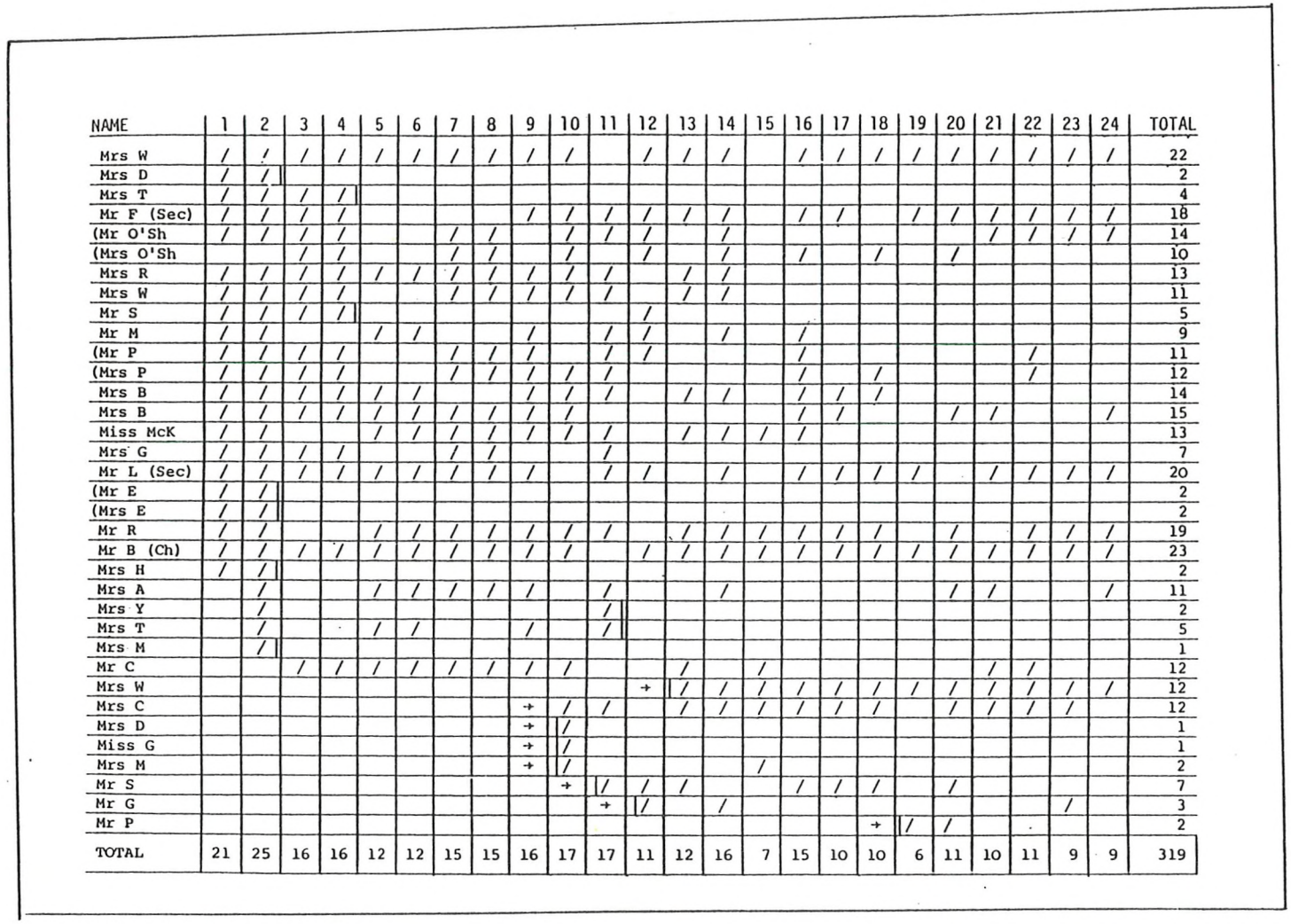
after May 1979, it was represented by three Conservative Party councillors for Havelock Ward, and a Labour Party councillor was elected for the ward in 1981 (all four elected representatives lived nearby but not actually in the G.I.A.). In G.I.A. 15, the residents' committee had decided to assign their ward councillors 'associate' status on the committee without voting rights.

In general though the role of councillors was limited. Their attendance at G.I.A. 15 residents' meetings certainly varied. One of the three city councillors - a young, newly elected councillor, attended regularly (22 meetings) while another - a senior ex-Lord Mayor - recorded a total of ten attendances, the third, another senior and elderly Conservative Party councilllor, made only two appearances. The Labour county councillor, attended regularly in the period following his election but less frequently thereafter. From the evidence of the minutes of the G.I.A. committee in the period 1979 to 1982, councillors played a minor part in the discussions. Their role was essentially one of providing advice and information on the wider city context in which the scheme was being implemented. The county councillor initially took a somewhat more positive role, in relation to traffic issues and planning applications.

Thus councillors, obviously wishing to be identified with the improvements being made, were in attendance at some meetings although they did not play an active part in formulating the scheme or, indeed, supervising its implementation. The councillor's desire to build and retain support with local residents by taking an active part tempered (in all but the most junior councillors case) by the conflicting demands of committee work and the need to attend to problems raised by constituents in other parts of their ward, including those in other adjoining G.I.A.s.

(f) The role of the members of the residents' committee.

A total of thirty-five residents attended meetings of the G.I.A. 15 Residents' Committee over a three-year period during which twenty-four meetings were held (annual public meetings, apart from the first one, excluded). The complete record of attendance is indicated on Fig. 7.15. A total of 319 'appearances' were made at the twenty-four meetings, giving an average attendance of thirteen members per meeting.



NAME	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	TOTAL
Mrs W	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	22
Mrs D	/	/																							2
Mrs T	/	/	/	/																					4
Mr F (Sec)	/	/	/	/					/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/	18
(Mr O'Sh	/	/	/	/			/	/		/	/	/		/							/	/	/	/	14
(Mrs O'Sh			/	/			/	/		/		/		/		/		/		/					10
Mrs R	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/											13
Mrs W	/	/	/	/			/	/	/	/	/		/	/											11
Mr S	/	/	/	/								/													5
Mr M	/	/			/	/			/		/	/		/		/									9
(Mr P	/	/	/	/			/	/	/		/	/				/						/			11
(Mrs P	/	/	/	/			/	/	/	/	/					/		/				/			12
Mrs B	/	/	/	/	/	/			/	/	/		/	/		/	/	/							14
Mrs B	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/						/	/			/	/			/	15
Miss McK	/	/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/									13
Mrs G	/	/	/	/			/	/			/														7
Mr L (Sec)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/		/		/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/	20
(Mr E	/	/																							2
(Mrs E	/	/																							2
Mr R	/	/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/		/		/	/	/	19
Mr B (Ch)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	23
Mrs H	/	/																							2
Mrs A		/			/	/	/	/	/		/			/						/	/			/	11
Mrs Y		/									/														2
Mrs T		/			/	/			/		/														5
Mrs M		/																							1
Mr C			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/		/						/	/			12
Mrs W												→	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	12
Mrs C									→	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/		12
Mrs D									→	/															1
Miss G									→	/															1
Mrs M									→	/					/										2
Mr S										→	/	/	/			/	/	/		/					7
Mr G											→	/		/									/		3
Mr P																		→	/	/					2
TOTAL	21	25	16	16	12	12	15	15	16	17	17	11	12	16	7	15	10	10	6	11	10	11	9	9	319

Figure 7.15 Attendance of street representatives at G.I.A. 15 residents' committee meetings

Source: City Planning Department, Minutes of G.I.A. 15 residents' committee

However, actual attendance at meetings varied from a peak of over twenty at the outset to barely a quorum on a few occasions in the later stages. The attendance level was maintained by several new members being elected. The change through time in attendance level followed a pattern of sustained interest while the environmental improvement scheme was being discussed and agreed, and a lessening of interest thereafter when the plan was gradually being implemented.

As far as individuals were concerned, not surprisingly, the chairman and secretaries of the committee were the most regular attenders. They and the two other members who put in an appearance on most occasions, can be classed as '*stalwarts*' of the committee. At the other end of the scale, eleven of the thirty-five residents went to three or less meetings (they mostly did not appear again after their first few meetings). This group can be classed as '*starters*'. The remaining twenty members appeared intermittently, some throughout the period and others joining the committee at a later stage. This latter group in a couple of cases might be classed as 'stalwarts' in that their attendance was sustained but, in terms of their overall input into the process of deciding on environmental improvements, they will be classed as '*sporadics*'. Most committee members were middle-aged, residents who had lived in the area for some time. There were also three sets of 'husband and wife' participants and, several sets of 'friendly' neighbours. It is possible that, had not official letters been delivered to all residents before the initial and subsequent public meetings, attendance at these annual meetings would have been lower. At the meeting of 17th January, 1983, a total of only thirty residents attended. In terms of evaluating the commitment of residents' committee members (given that meetings on average lasted one-and-a-half hours) the total cumulative hours attended during the period amounted to nearly 500. Thus the residents' committee in G.I.A. 15 was sustained by a few activists who played a leading part in the proceedings. It was they who were volunteered to be officers and perform all the tasks assigned to street representatives.

Fig. 7.16 indicates the sort of issues which were raised and discussed at the twenty-four meetings of the committee during the period under study. Both the number of occasions and the amount of time (as measured by the number of lines devoted to the issue in the committee's minutes) for each issue is shown.

Justus Garage	310 22	Derelict property	17 5
Pedestrian crossing	125 13	Pavements	15 3
Traffic management	97 11	Trees	14 1
Home improvement grants	76 7	Caravan parking on street	12 2
Businesses on Fawcett Road	71 13	Finance	11 2
Community provision	66 7	Litter bins	10 2
Car repairing on street	64 7	Pigeon loft	7 1
Car park in Fratton plan	56 10	Street cleaning	5 1
Council depot	40 8	Traffic accidents	5 1
Street lights	31 9	Branch library	3 1
Priory School	26 5	Doctors' surgery	3 1
Commercial vehicles parking	22 5	Dogs fouling pavements	3 1
Residents'-only parking scheme	18 3		

Figure 7.16 Issues discussed at G.I.A. 15 residents' committee meetings.
A Amount of time involved (as measured by number of lines devoted to the item in the minutes of meetings.
B Number of occasions discussed.

Source: City Planning Department, Minutes of G.I.A. Residents' Committee.

Not surprisingly, given the priority accorded to it in the scheme of environmental improvement, Justus Garage figures prominently. It was discussed at all but two meetings. Clearly, it dominated the agenda as much as it did the debate about resource allocation to and within the G.I.A. Other local facilities which were deemed as nuisances by local people also figured largely in the committee's deliberations - the behaviour of some Priory School pupils was singled out for adverse comment and the headmaster responded by attending a special meeting which was held in the school. Changes in the use of shops on Fawcett Road also generated a fair amount of criticism including the sex shop and tattoo artist's parlour in this road. The committee also objected to a number of planning applications. In addition, minor cases of anti-social behaviour

affecting the amenity of specific streets were raised periodically and often resolved with the intervention of the police or other public agencies. The residents' committee used its potential as a neighbourhood pressure group as well as serving as a consultative body. It functioned as a forum through which inner city quality-of-life issues which were important to local residents were raised.

(g) Officers and G.I.A. 15.

Some issues however were raised by officials rather than by locals. An attempt to gauge the need for community provision in the area was made by a representative of the Leisure Services Department. Following pressure for a pedestrian crossing on Fawcett Road from the G.I.A. 14 residents' committee the views of residents in G.I.A. 15 were solicited. Finally, the question of home improvement grants was given an airing by housing officials. Despite limited finance, the Housing Department was anxious to increase the number of applications in the area and urged the committee to publicize the opportunities available. Again, the council's prime concern was to maintain the 'livability' of the area. Environmental improvements in the area were a vital adjunct to the maintenance of the housing stock.

The planning and housing departments and, to a lesser extent, the officers of other municipal departments, played a continuous role in relation to the declaration and operation of G.I.A.s and number 15 was no exception. The designation of this part of Southsea as a G.I.A., and the delimitation of its boundaries, were based on the recommendations of the planning staff following the preparatory work done by housing inspectors. Representatives of several departments were initially involved and also attended the subsequent meetings of the residents' committee on a regular basis (Fig. 7.17). Once the initial public meeting had been organised and the G.I.A. programme explained by senior planning and housing officers, it was left to their less senior colleagues to carry on the task of encouraging applications for home improvement grants in the area and consulting with residents over environmental improvements.

The city council, through its Secretary and Solicitor's office, advertised public meetings, paid for the hire of halls and rooms for meetings, printed the questionnaires (once the format had been agreed

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Planning	///	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Housing	//	/													/				/					
Secretarial	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Leisure Services										/						/	/	/						
Estates							/																	
Engineers	//	/	/		/	//			//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	/	//
Police					/															/	/			
TOTAL	8	5	4	3	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	4

Figure 7.17 Attendance of officers at G.I.A. 15 residents' committee meetings (excluding first public meeting)

Source: City Planning Department, Minutes of G.I.A. 15 Residents Committee

by the G.I.A. committee), recorded and typed minutes, printed letters inviting residents to annual meetings, provided a model constitution and generally serviced the residents' committees. Some of the documents produced for G.I.A. 15 comprise Appendix E. Every meeting was attended by a clerk and legal and clerical matters were undertaken by the same department. However, it was the staff of the environmental section of the planning department who were, in conjunction with their colleagues in the city engineer's department, largely responsible for the authority's input into drawing up a framework of improvements. Fig. 7.17 indicates the presence of these officials at successive residents' committee meetings. It shows the sustained role which planning and engineering officials played in the work of the committee. In essence these officials and the G.I.A. stalwarts *were* the committee.

At some of the early meetings, officials were content to listen to the local complaints about the area and merely point out some of the constraints which would make the task of solving them difficult. For example, the committee were reminded of the need to consult with residents in adjacent G.I.A.s over traffic management schemes, and the lack of suitable space for recreational facilities. While residents came to the meetings with issues which affected their everyday lives and some ideas as to what could or should be done to resolve them, they relied primarily on officials to put these problems into perspective. Thus, the history of nuisances like the Justus Garage, its legal position and the feasibility of various proposals to solve or alleviate the problems it caused to residents, were explained. The lengthy timescale of improvements, which irked committee members who were anxious to see tangible results, was one which officials had to justify. The officials thus fulfilled the crucial role of 'demand management', preventing residents' expectations from rising above the level of resources the council was making available. They provided a vital buffer in the council's operations. They also alerted the council to potential problems. The committee could be described as guided participation since it did not have the resources or experience to be wholly self-sufficient. It was serviced by a clerk and to an extent this structured the proceedings. This official support was clearly appreciated since without it the committee probably could not have operated so efficiently but it also had implications for its mode of operation

and thus for its activities. It was made to act 'reasonably' and 'responsibly'.

(h) The final scheme

The total cost of the scheme of environmental improvements for G.I.A. 15 (at 1982 prices) was £436,900; which worked out at an average cost of £831 per dwelling. The scheme should also be set in the context of the Fratton local plan incorporating the North-South Road Stage III and a traffic management scheme in association with neighbouring G.I.A.s. The outline of the scheme is illustrated on Fig. 7.14. As a matter of course all roads were re-surfaced and footways repaired, although, as has been seen, the order in which this was done was partly decided by the residents' committee. Other features of the scheme included new lighting in most of the streets; tree planting (on roads where feasible and acceptable to residents); a new pelican crossing on Fawcett Road and the retention of the old tram lines on Rugby Road. Perhaps the most dramatic single change in land-use was the removal of the Justus Garage in Britannia Road North and its replacement by a landscaped recreational area.

Thus, although on the face of it the improvements were modest, the scheme was a product of the sort of area it was and, in particular, the limited land available for re-development.

During 1983 and 1984, the area was being gradually improved as old paving stones were replaced, young saplings planted, roads were being resurfaced. By 1984 as already noted, the new park which has created a green public oasis in one of the most densely built-up sectors on Portsea Island, had been opened and was in use. In the longer term while existing streets and houses had been preserved and improvements made to the environment residents could also see their city council's commitment to the area in a direct and tangible form. What happened and what was achieved in G.I.A. 15 and for that matter elsewhere in the city was a substantial improvement in the environment succinctly characterised by Boaden et al -

'Schemes of this kind reduce the noise level, pollution, congestion and danger to pedestrians in urban streets. The street becomes a more livable and healthy environment, a neighbourly territory, a place for play. Hopefully community identity becomes more secure both physically and through participation in a local scheme'.

(Boaden et al, 1982 p. 75)

(vii) Conclusion

In contrast to the sporadic and tenuous nature of public consultation characteristic of much of structure and local plans and the particularised objections to planning applications, residents in G.I.A.s in Portsmouth (though not conservation areas) have been directly and continuously involved in publicly initiated environmental changes to their neighbourhoods. Certainly it is true that the allocation of funds to the G.I.A. programme, the order of declarations, the size of areas and choice of boundaries, and the spatial targeting of projects are decided by the city council and its committees as advised by planning and other officers. Unlike the case of Birmingham reported by Paris and Blackaby (1979) where city wide liaison meetings were held to discuss for example issues of prioritisation between areas the spatial and financial framework was decided in Portsmouth by local officials and elected representatives of the city council whereas the Department of the Environment was only marginally involved. However it has been shown that the substance of the individual environmental schemes were formulated on basis of the priorities expressed by individual residents in questionnaires and by the recommendations agreed by members (albeit in small numbers) of elected residents' committees. In contrast to some other forms of public involvement in planning, residents living in G.I.A.s in Portsmouth which have undergone renewal have been consulted at an early stage and, apart from Stamshaw in the early 1970s, have taken the initiative in formulating detailed schemes. Planning officials and to lesser extents councillors have advised and ultimately decided what money should be spent, and where. In G.I.A. 15, for example, the removal of a noxious facility (the Garage) took priority over less costly road and pavement improvements at the insistence of the residents' committee. Furthermore in this and other G.I.A.s the micro-geography of street improvements have been carried out only when the approval of individual residents had been secured.

The level of participation, as measured by the return of questionnaires and attendance at meetings, has shown little variation between different areas. There are two reasons for this. First, it is evident that while individual G.I.A.s are far from identical, they do display an overall similarity in population structure and type of tenure (Fig. 7.2). Secondly, the planning department has, with the exception of the first few G.I.A.s adopted an almost identical approach to involving the public. Thus throughout public meetings have been held in local venues. They have been always advertised in the local press and by means of letters to individual householders. Residents' committees have been equally serviced by secretarial and other assistance. Officials have continuously attended meetings, many of which are held in the evenings. The suggestion that

> 'junior officials assisted residents in the formation of associations and the preparation of plans'
>
> (Boaden et al, 1982, p.97)

is applicable in Portsmouth. In all G.I.A.s plans have been made widely available for scrutiny and comment although a degree of flexibility was apparent in the arrangements by which environmental schemes were formulated and implemented.

Although residents' committees were sustained by the same group of activists who made a sustained input to decision-making, substantial numbers of local people have nevertheless been involved (at least in showing their preferences). Evidently, the environmental section of the planning department has been far from a

> 'grinding bureaucratic machine, remote and inimical to the interests of citizens'.
>
> (Boaden et al, 1982, p.57).

The disincentives for mass participation have been, at least partially, overcome by the combined efforts of elected street representatives and the tangible support provided by the council and willingness to listen on the part of its personnel. For example, in G.I.A. 7, a letter printed and paid for by the council, written by the chairman and circulated by street representatives, apparently elicited a substantial response. In it the chairman wrote that residents could

hardly complain to him afterwards if they did not let him know their views at this stage

> 'you live in the area and are thus affected but if you cannot be bothered you will not know what is going on and could be denying yourself a chance to object if there are things you don't like in the scheme'.
>
> (Minutes of G.I.A. 7 Residents' Committee).

Of course, the major elements of individual schemes were dictated by the availability of funds and the constraints of existing land-use. Elements of the scheme, for example highway and pavement renewal, would have been undertaken anyway. Furthermore, as already noted, it was in the interests of planners to secure the agreement of a 'legitimate' and 'representative' body in each area before embarking on a costly and largely irreversible scheme. Even apparently beneficial proposals often have negative impacts (albeit often temporary in duration and localised in space). G.I.A. committees therefore smoothed potentially troubled waters. In the case of traffic management schemes, in Fratton for example, and land-use changes, in all G.I.A.s, it was important for planning staff to secure the backing of at least a majority of residents. In the event of subsequent opposition when changes are being implemented such support is crucial. In a sense, therefore, the implementation of schemes was facilitated by the form of consultation carried out in G.I.A.s.

Thus, the aims of public consultation over environmental schemes in G.I.A.s - to establish a two-way channel for communication - was largely achieved. The process was a more symmetrical exercise than is often the case, in Portsmouth with both planners and local residents (directly and through the stalwarts amongst street representatives and the residents' committees) benefiting from being continuously and intensively involved. As in Birmingham (Paris and Blackaby 1979) people in the G.I.A.s of Portsmouth certainly had a say in how their immediate environment was changed. The case study largely vindicates the statement made by Boaden et al (1982, p. 16) that on some occasions people, officials, and councillors - the governors and the governed - meet on equal terms and benefits acrue to all concerned.

CHAPTER VIII

HOUSING : CONSULTATION WITH TENANTS THROUGH THE JOINT CONSULTATIVE BODY

In the late 1970s Portsmouth City Council owned some 27,500 dwellings including three large postwar estates - with over 10,000 houses, flats and maisonettes - in the neighbouring Borough of Havant. The city council's housing department and housing committee and its sub-committees have responsibility for the management and maintenance, repair and refurbishment, allocation and administration, rents and sale of this substantial housing stock. To what extent do council tenants have a say in the authority's decisions? Are they informed and consulted about the major annual resource allocations in housing capital and revenue budgets, or about rent increases, or council house sales? Are they involved in the routine management and maintenance of their estates? This chapter analyses an agency which was set up in the 1960s by Portsmouth Council to provide a link between housing officials, councillors and tenants. It is called the Housing Joint Consultative Body (hereafter referred to as the J.C.B.). Portsmouth is certainly not unique in having such an advisory or consultative committee which has the effect of institutionalising regular interaction between decision makers and those who live with the results of their decisions. Surveys have shown that many housing authorities have some kind of tenant participation scheme. Some co-opt tenants onto their housing committee or sub-committees. (Boaden et al, 1982, p. 102). Why the J.C.B. was established is outlined. Its membership and the record of their participation is scrutinized. The role and functions it performed will be assesssed as well as the issues that were (and were not) raised by tenants. What happened to the grievances aired and demands made by the spokesmen for the tenants' associations represented on the J.C.B. is examined.

(i) The administration of public sector housing

Although the Housing Department was reorganised in 1983 and amalgamated with Environmental Health into a Housing and Health Department (with accompanying changes in the committee structure) between 1977 and 1980 it was a separate and autonomous department. One of its committees the housing management sub-committee had delegated to it all responsibility for matters relating to

council dwellings apart from the fixing of rents and charges, and the allocation of tenancies and transfers. (When the housing committee is mentioned in this chapter it is generally referring to this sub-committee). Conservative party councillors formed a majority on the housing committee and its sub-committees and the chairman of the housing committee also chaired the J.C.B. (Fig. 8.1).

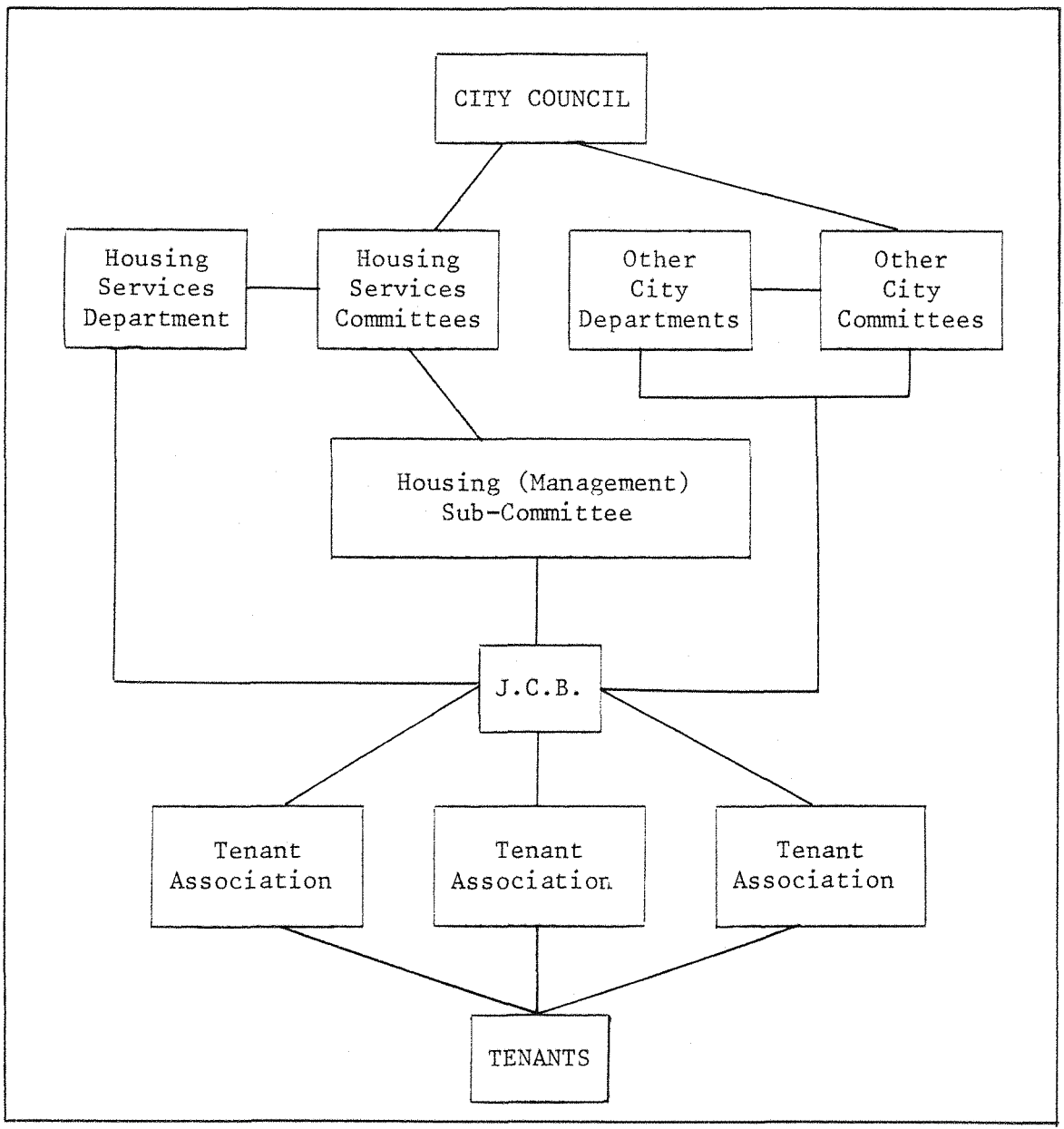


Figure 8.1 Links between the J.C.B. and other municipal agencies

Housing is a major spending department and employs during the study period just under 500 people including a director, three assistant directors, and section heads, supervisors, wardens and clerks. Over 50,000 minor repairs were being undertaken every year by the direct labour organisation of the Building Works Department.

In the financial year 1977/78 it spent £16.8 millions. In the same years its income from rents was £7.2 millions. Having implemented a massive post-war building programme the city's housing revenue account debts amounted to over £80 millions (with annual debt charges of £9 millions). In the same financial year £4 millions was spent on repairs and maintenance. In 1977 it had to cope with a waiting list of 2,000 and nearly 4,000 transfer requests from its 17,500 tenant households.

The rapid post-war growth of the city's public sector housing stock can be seen from the fact that in 1939 (when the population of Portsmouth was 230,000) there were a mere 4,036 dwellings in the city in public ownership. Much of this growth has occurred outside its closely drawn municipal boundaries. For, needing to replace houses bombed during the war, the city council was obliged to embark on a major programme of purchase of land and construction of estates in neighbouring Havant. Thus Leigh Park was built in the 1950s and houses 35,000 people. More recently Crookhorn and Wecock Farm were constructed in the A3 corridor (Fig. 8.2) at Waterlooville. In 1978 Portsmouth owned 27,527 units of which only 16,564 were located in the city and the rest in these 'overspill' estates.

One of the major problems of the housing stock, as illustrated on the map, is that the various types of dwelling are not evenly distributed as between different estates. Flatted accommodation is predominant in the inner city estates on Portsea Island, whereas in Paulsgrove and on the overspill estates most tenants have houses. Recently the total size of the housing stock has diminished as a result of the implementation of a vigorous local policy of selling council dwellings (mainly under the impetus given by the 'right to buy' provisions of the 1980 Housing Act). In the financial year 1981-82 some 1,113 council units were purchased. Apart from small scale developments mainly catering for the elderly, public sector housebuilding has come to a stand still in recent years. In contrast private housebuilding has been encouraged in the city, for example, the 715 new houses being built at the airport site.

(ii) History of the Joint Consultative Body

As already noted, Portsmouth City Council built several 'overspill' estates in the Borough of Havant (formerly the

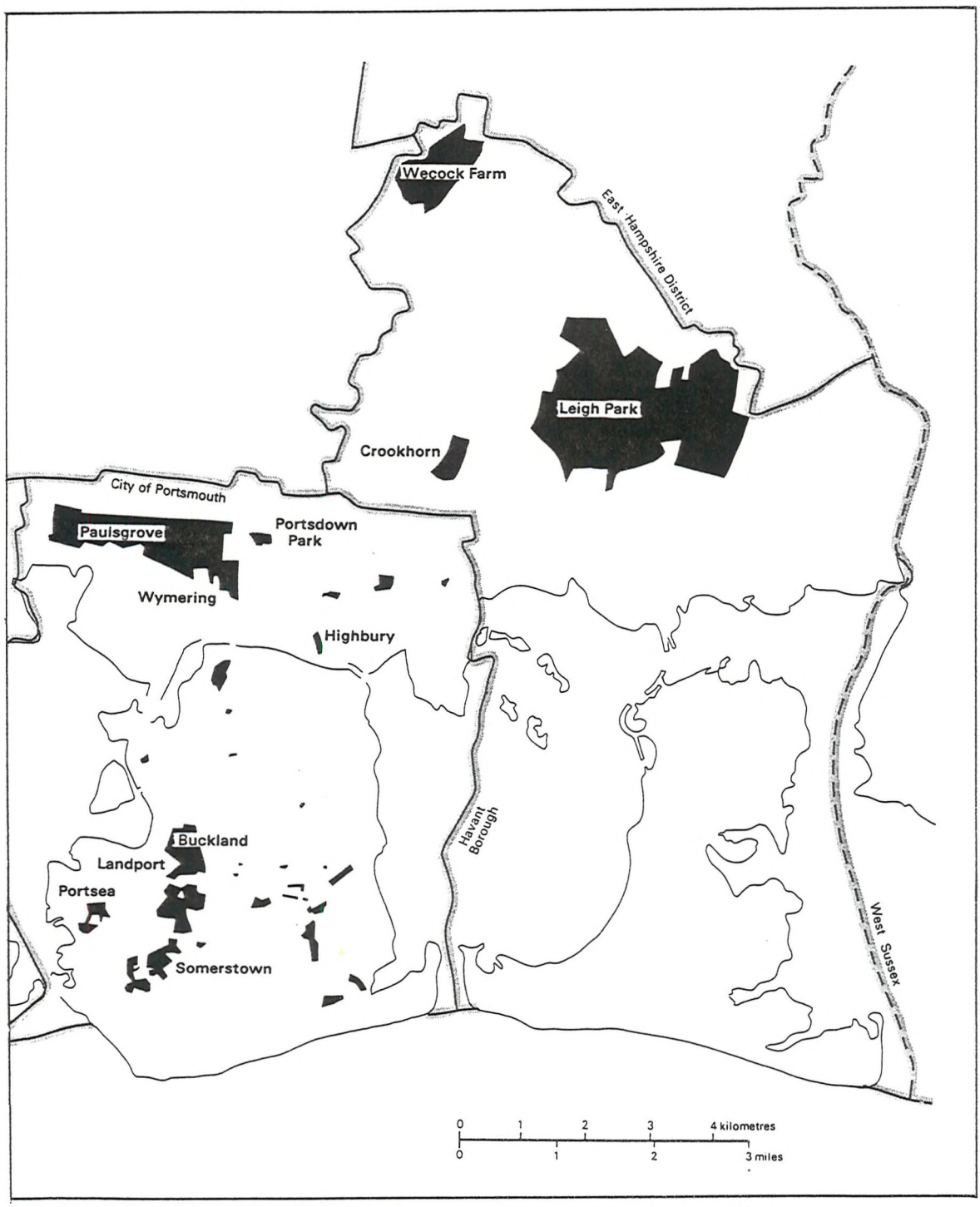


Figure 8.2 Public sector housing areas owned by Portsmouth City Council

Source: Everyday Atlas of Portsmouth

Urban District of Havant and Waterlooville. In the post-war period Portsmouth tenants were thus living under a neighbouring local authority and were totally unrepresented on Portsmouth City Council or its housing committees. In 1964 an internal report was submitted to the city council in which reference was made to a demand by a Leigh Park tenants' association that it should be given some form of direct representation on the housing committee. The council responded by suggesting an alternative - the formation of a consultative body comprising representatives of the local authority and tenants associations. The aim of this body was to be

> 'to enable responsible members of associations represented to discuss matters relating to housing problems and to establish a means of communication and consultation between tenants and the Housing Services Committee'.
>
> (Personal communication from City Secretary and Solicitor, 1981)

The city council approved the establishment of the J.C.B. in 1964. At this time the housing committee who had delegated authority to decide its constitution resolved that it should be composed of - (a) three representatives to be appointed by a Portsea Island Tenants' Association, one of whom should represent the special interests of tenants of multi-storey flats; (b) two representatives to be appointed by the Paulsgrove and District Tenants' Assocation to represent the interests of tenants off Portsea Island but within the city; (c) three representatives to be appointed to represent the tenants at Leigh Park one of these to be chosen with a view to representing the special interests of the elderly and infirm; and (d) four representatives of the housing services committee.

It is not certain if and when any formal change was made subsequently in the constitution of the J.C.B. but by the mid-seventies while its role remained much the same its composition had been altered and enlarged. By then representatives from departments other than housing were being invited to attend and respond to tenants' queries and complaints, and the specific form of representation of the 1964 constitution has been relaxed. Now individual tenants' associations were encouraged to send two or three representatives to its periodic meetings.

From its early days therefore the J.C.B. was an informal, consultative, non-executive agency at whose meetings housing committee members and tenant representatives met. Its major raison d'etre was to give otherwise unrepresented tenants living in overspill estates, notably Leigh Park, an opportunity to communicate their views to those councillors and officials making decisions affecting them. During the 1960s and 1970s it continued to operate on the basis of infrequent meetings, uneven representation of tenants and an absence of executive powers of any sort. In short, in its early years it operated merely as a forum for consultation and discussion between the city council and its tenants with the emphasis on keeping its out-of-town tenants informed of what was being decided in the city.

(iii) The role and function of the J.C.B.

Whatever else the J.C.B. were supposed to do from the housing committee's point of view it was not to replace existing channels of communication between tenants and the city housing committee and the housing services department. (As already noted, the city council had rejected a plea that tenants should sit on the housing committee itself at the outset). What functions then did the J.C.B. serve from the authority's viewpoint?

Tackled over a case of dampness in Leigh Park the chairman explained (4th October, 1979) that the meeting was not a forum for individual tenancy cases. He later relented slightly by stating that if an address was left with the director of housing services the complaint would nonetheless be investigated. Thus the committee was not meant to be the venue for individual housing or other problems to be raised although as can be seen in section (v) such issues were raised by tenants, often by way of examples of the wider problems being discussed. Specific complaints and queries were to be addressed directly to local area housing officers so that ....

> 'queries of this nature could be dealt with immediately and not have to be raised at the J.C.B. meetings'.
>
> (Minutes of J.C.B., October, 1978).

At another meeting Councillor Gregory noted at the end of the meeting -

'Many items discussed could be referred direct to the department concerned, a housing warden or ward councillors rather than taking up the time of the J.C.B.'.

(Minutes of J.C.B., September 1976)

On another occasion it was suggested

'that the best course of action for them (Portsdown Park representatives concerned about dampness) should they not obtain satisfaction from the Housing Department would be to contact their ward councillors'.

(Minutes of J.C.B., January 1978)

Tenants' representatives generally responded that they were often forced to bring matters to the J.C.B. when the housing department did not act over their complaints. The chairman intimated that should the occasion warrant it -

'any resident not satisfied with the way the council had treated them should contact him personally'.

(Minutes of J.C.B., May 1978)

If tenants' representatives were not meant to raise individual cases or even specific estate issues what were they meant to discuss? During the time the J.C.B. was studied there appeared to be a degree of ambivalence on the part of the politicians - and some disagreement. Two special meetings were convened by the J.C.B. chairman in 1978 specifically to enable him to explain forthcoming financial decisions. On the 2nd March, for example, a meeting was convened specially to inform members of the housing committee's capital and revenue spending programme for the 1978/79 financial year and to explain the reasons for the recent decision to increase rents by 5%. On this occasion the large proportion of proposed expenditure which was taken up by debt charges was emphasized (£9.4 millions out of £18 millions) and existing commitments outlined. The meeting thus gave the council the opportunity of explaining its future plans to tenant representatives and

'the thinking and problems behind the figures,.... it was hoped that they would now feel able to pass on the information to the people they represented'.

(Minutes of J.C.B., March 1978)

It had been the first time that the spending programme had been discussed and the chairman expressed the hope that it would establish a pattern for the future. A related activity involved explaining the state of the housing revenue account and annual rent increases which tenants would have to pay. (In February 1979 a special meeting was called to give the background and reasons why rents had been increased by 17%). The consultative body was thus used by the chairman (and his conservative party colleagues) as a means of outlining and justifying the council's financial policies and plans.

Labour party councillors and some tenants' representatives evidently felt uneasy about this. At the 24th of May, 1979, meeting, Councillor Emmerson, for example, pointed out -

> 'there was a case for a special meeting of the Consultative Body to discuss with tenants' associations any new policy before the housing committee met to decide their policy'.
>
> (Minutes of J.C.B., May 1979)

At the same meeting, Mr. Clarricoates, one of the Paulsgrove representatives, stressed that there was a feeling amongst tenant members that matters relating to and affecting council tenants, and in particular rents, could usefully be discussed at J.C.B. meetings *prior* to becoming council policy. In response to these interventions the chairman explained that when considering rent tariffs the housing committee had to give consideration to a number of detailed documents which were 'difficult' to present. He felt it was *not* necessary for tenants to be involved directly in council decisions on rents because it was ward councillors who had been elected to make such decisions. He maintained there were other areas of council policy making in which tenants could play a useful part. Councillors Thomas and Prince (Labour) agreed that there were indeed many important other issues and cited a recent report on housing maintenance as an example of a topic that could and should be debated by the J.C.B.

Thus most councillors sitting on the J.C.B. saw it as a sounding board. Thus, for example, the chairman of the Landport and Buckland Tenants' Association was to report back to the J.C.B. the reactions of tenants of Nickleby House to the use of their car park by Saturday shoppers (Minutes of J.C.B., March 1977). But it was also a

means by which policy and particularly rent increases could be justified to tenant's representatives by councillors of the majority party. From the tenants point of view, however, it was a vehicle to air their grievances (doubly useful since a reporter from the local newspaper often attended) and confront officials and councillors with their problems. To a lesser extent they used it to 'compare notes' with each other. Issues which were placed on the agenda by tenants' representatives concerned housing and more generally the amenity of estates. There was a recurring pattern of issues being raised, investigated and (sometimes) resolved. As written minutes of the previous meeting were available it was customary, under matters arising, for explanations to be demanded of officials. In cases when action had been promised and the matter had not been resolved to the satisfaction of tenants, they wanted to know why. The presence of officials and to a lesser extent councillors at successive meetings afforded tenants' representatives an opportunity to raise issues of their choice 'face to face' with those having authority and responsibility for dealing with them. Thus while a symbolic response such as the promise 'to look into the matter' might suffice the first time around on subsequent occasions a lack of tangible action was more difficult to explain away.

Under the 1980 Housing legislation local authorities were obliged to consult tenants in relation to any proposed changes in housing management policy. It had to be decided if the J.C.B. was the appropriate mechanism for the city council to consult its tenants and fulfil this new statutory duty. At its June 1981 meeting the housing services (management) sub-committee hedged its bets. It was agreed that given that not all estates had tenants' associations and their constitutions varied so much the J.C.B. was not fully representative of all council estates and tenants. It thus resolved that: (1) where there were tenants' associations they be informed of any proposed changes which affect their members and, where appropriate, consultation should take place through the J.C.B.; and (2) that in any case all tenants would be notified individually in writing of any proposed changes in management policy and, when considered appropriate, their observations be reported back directly to the housing sub-committee. Thus the J.C.B. was not to be the appropriate channel of communication between the authority and its tenants for the purposes of this

legislation. Since that time there have been no formal changes made to the role of the J.C.B. Thus tenants who were potentially affected by any change in housing management policy were consulted directly by letter, through the J.C.B. or via ward councillors.

(iv) Membership and attendance

The J.C.B. then consisted of members of the housing committee (most of whom were also members of the Housing Services (General Purposes) Sub-Committee). A majority of councillors belonged to the majority party (none of whom, incidentally, represented wards dominated by public sector housing or lived in council houses or estates). The Chairman of the J.C.B. was also the current chairman of the housing committee (Councillor Wakefield from 1976-82). After the 1979 city elections the actual composition of the committee changed as some councillors lost their seats and were replaced. Twenty nine different councillors attended J.C.B. meetings during the four year period studied. Although the total number of councillors attending each meeting varied, most councillors attended fairly regularly (see Fig. 8.3). In addition, members of the housing committee, the leader of the City Council and his deputy, and leader of the opposition (Labour) party all received the J.C.B.s agendas. These and other councillors could attend if there was an item on the agenda which directly affected their constituents. Elected members received attendance allowances for these meetings.

In the period 1976-80, there were a total of eleven tenants' associations represented on the J.C.B. Only a few however attended meetings throughout the period (see Fig. 8.4). When new tenants' associations were formed they simply wrote to the chairman and turned up. Some associations stopped being represented because they had been wound up or their representatives no longer wished to attend. Middle ranking officials of different departments of the city council attended by invitation of the chairman, and a senior officer of the housing department (normally an assistant director) was also present. A staff member of the City Secretary and Solicitor's Department was there to take the minutes). Thus although the attendance of some officials and tenants representatives was sporadic rather than sustained the meetings of the J.C.B. were attended by a 'hard core' of councillors and tenants throughout the period.

During the period 1976-80 some dissatisfaction was evident amongst councillors over the question of how representative were the associations attending the J.C.B. For example the chairman reported at the May 1979 meeting that it had been suggested to him that some tenants' associations were not representative of their areas. It was suggested that if a new tenants' association wished to be represented they should formally apply and the matter be discussed and decided by existing members of the J.C.B. The problem of dual representation from one estate was queried. Here an action group had been formed. The housing committee decided that, in spite of ambiguities the constitution of the J.C.B. should not be altered and that any tenants' associations should be permitted to send three representatives. The problem resurfaced again in 1981 when the housing committee deliberated the matter of representation at length. They had in front of them yet another report by the city secretary and solicitor on the state of tenants' associations. The results of an official survey of tenants associations which included details of the number of tenants each association represented, their organisation and frequency of meetings, and the mechanisms for consulting their members, were outlined. The report noted that there were estates within and outside the city which were not covered by tenants' associations and that alterations to some of their constitutions were necessary if they were to operate along democratic lines.

The housing committee again considered the question of representation in relation to all areas and types of city council dwellings and also the question of representation on the part of new leasees of city council flats who might like the opportunity of being represented. Members were perturbed at the non-attendance of representatives of several associations which ostensibly were members of the J.C.B. They were also concerned at the lack of representation for several areas of city council housing (for example, Landport and Portsea).

The Director of Housing Services was instructed to write to all tenants and lessees indicating that if there was sufficient interest the city council would assist in the setting up of a tenants' or lessees' association (for former tenants who had bought their leases from the council) which could be invited to meetings of the J.C.B. There was no response to this initiative.

By March, 1982, the situation was that the minutes of J.C.B. meetings were being circulated to a total of ten associations of which four - Leamington and Solihull Houses Tenants' Associations, Leigh Park Tenants' Action Group, Paulsgrove Action Committee, and Wecock Farm community Association - had not attended meetings of the J.C.B. or submitted items for the agenda for some considerable time. Letters were sent to secretaries of these associations asking them whether they still wished to be invited to meetings.

Also in 1982 a Labour Party Councillor (now SDP councillor and M.P.) presented a resolution to a full council meeting as follows -

> 'That the city council fully appreciates the problems that have arisen and are always present on our housing estates both in and outside the city and instructs the Housing and Health Committee to form residents' committees, based loosely on the idea of those which operate so satisfactorily within the city in G.I.A.s, and to implement this policy as quickly as possible'.
>
> (Minutes of council meeting, 27th October 1982).

This proposal was however rejected by the city council following a recommendation by the housing services committee. Members argued that the existing channels of communication satisfied statutory requirements and were adequate.

As far as the presence of officials at J.C.B. meetings was concerned, as already noted housing officers, often headed by an assistant director were generally in attendance and middle ranking officials from other departments generally present at the invitation of the chairman.

Fig. 8.3, 8.4 and 8.5 indicate the pattern of attendance over time by officials, councillors and tenants' representatives at the fourteen meetings held in the four year period studied. The most obvious feature of this pattern shown is the continuity of attendance achieved by all three groups of participants especially those from the 'council' side. Officers from the Housing and other departments rarely failed to attend (the latter were expected to do so if there was an item on the agenda on which they would be expected to report back or comment). Councillors' attendance was more sporadic;

	Nr. Councillors attending	Nr. Tenant Associations reps. attending	Nr. Tenants Associations Represented	Duration (Hours)	Nr. Council Officers Attending	Nr. Council Departments Represented
25 March 1976	5	15	5	3	4	3
14 September 1976	13	15	5	2½	4	3
3 March 1977	6	17	6	3	5	4
7 July 1977						
13 October 1977	9	12	6	2	4	3
19 January 1978	7	11	6	2	4	3
2 March 1978*	1(ch)	8	5	2	2	1
4 May 1978	6	9	5	2	3	2
12 October 1978	8	12	6	3	10	6
25 January 1979	10	11	5	2½	8	6
27 February 1979*	1(ch)	7	5	2	3	2
24 May 1979	14	16	7	2	6	4
4 October 1979	12	9	4	2½	5	4
14 February 1980	11	10	4	2½	5	3
3 July 1980	9	12	4	2½	5	5

*Special meetings

Figure 8.3 Attendance at J.C.B. meetings (1976-80)

Source: City Housing Department, J.C.B. Minutes

	Paulsgrove T.A.	Portsdown Park T.A.	Hilsea R.A.	Landport + Buckland T.A.	Wecock Farm C.A.	New Buckland R.A.	Leigh Park R. & R.A.	Leamington + Solihull Houses T.A.	Roslyn House Residents Association	Paulsgrove A.C.	Leigh Park A.C.
25 Mar. 1976	+	+	+	+							
14 Sept. 1976	+	+	+	+		+					
3 Mar. 1977	+	+		+	+	+	+				
7 July 1977											
13 Oct. 1977	+	+	+			+	+	+			
19 Jan. 1978	+	+	+			+	+	+			
2 Mar. 1978	+	+	+				+	+			
4 May 1978	+	+	+			+	+				
12 Oct. 1978	+	+	+			+	+	+			
25 Jan. 1979	+		+			+	+	+	+		
27 Feb. 1979	+		+				+	+	+		
24 May 1979	+					+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Oct. 1979	+						+	+	+	+	
14 Feb. 1980	+						+	+	+	+	
3 July 1980	+						+	+	+	+	

[+] attendance
[ ] no attendance
—— last meeting attended

T.A. = Tenants Association
R.A. = Residents Association
C.A. = Community Association
R.&R.A. = Residents and Ratepayers Association

Figure 8.4 Attendance by tenants associations at J.C.B. meetings (1976-80) Source: City Housing Department, J.C.B. Minutes

	Housing	City Secretary & Solicitor	Engineers	Architects	Leisure Services	Passenger Transport	Environmental Health	Estates	Treasurers
25 March 1976	+		+	+			+		
14 September 1976	+	+	+	+					
3 March 1977	+		+		+	+		+	
7 July 1977									
13 October 1977	+	+	+		+				
19 January 1978	+	+			+	+			
2 March 1978	+								+
4 May 1978	+		+				+		
12 October 1978	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
25 January 1979	+		+	+	+	+			
27 February 1979	+	+							+
24 May 1979	+	+	+	+	+	+			
4 October 1979	+	+	+		+	+			
14 February 1980	+	+	+						+
3 July 1980	+	+	+	+	+				
TOTAL	14	9	11	6	8	6	3	2	2

+ = Attendance.

Figure 8.5 Attendance by departmentals at J.C.B. meetings (1976-1980) Source: City Housing Department, J.C.B. Minutes

but a few - including the chairman - rarely missed a meeting. Attendance on the part of tenants' associations was more patchy geographically and temporally reflecting changes in the number which existed at any one time and level of activity. Fig. 8.4 shows the cut off dates of attendance of certain organisations whose involvement proved ephemeral. The most durable organisations were the Paulsgrove and District Tenants' Associations and Leigh Park Residents' and Ratepayers' Association. The former was represented by their same chairman and secretary throughout the period. Otherwise the turnover of tenants' representatives was considerable.

(v) Issues on the agenda

One of the notable (and laudable) features of the J.C.B. from its inception was the fact that, apart from a few special meetings called specifically to discuss rent increases, it was tenants who largely controlled its agenda. Only on a single occasion was it recorded that an item submitted by a tenants' association had been deleted from the agenda by the chairman. On the other hand guidelines were laid down and, as has been seen, councillors were continuously reminding tenants' representatives that individual cases should not be brought to what were meant to be meetings to discuss 'policy' issues. As indicated below tenants' concerns were broad-ranging and not confined to housing. A consultative body based on the idea of discussing housing matters alone was thus going to fall short of expectations. It would also allow councillors and officials to defuse such demand-making as beyond their terms of reference or competence.

In Fig. 8.6 the relative importance of different types of issues raised by tenant representatives as a group, and by individual associations, can be seen. The number of *non housing* items placed on the agenda by tenants' organisations indicates that the amenity and environment of estates was deemed to be important. (The number of lines written about an issue in the minutes of J.C.B. meetings is not necessarily a wholly accurate measure of the time given over to discussion of the matter or the amount of weight attached to it. It was used to provide an approximate measure of the salience of issues for tenants). Clearly housing maintenance and repairs and non-housing amenity issues were paramount issues for all the estates represented on the J.C.B. Amenity issues are particularly dominant in Hilsea,

	H1	H2	H3	H4	H5	Non H	Total
Paulsgrove	294(24)	42(5)	5(1)	20(3)	22(3)	234(25)	617 (61)
Leigh Park	196(19)	73(9)	41(2)	34(5)	19(3)	191(22)	554 (60)
Landport, and Buckland	143(15)	6(1)	-	-	17(1)	214(26)	380 (43)
Portsdown Park	72(9)	23(4)	6(1)	54(2)	6(1)	182(22)	343 (39)
Hilsea	3(1)	-	27(3)	-	-	104(14)	134 (18)
Leamington and Solihull Houses	68(7)	47(5)	8(1)	14(1)	39(5)	151(12)	327 (31)
Roslyn House	-	-	-	-	-	61(2)	61 (2)
Wecock Farm	5(1)	-	-	-	-	26(6)	31 (7)
TOTAL	781(76)	191(24)	87(8)	122(11)	103(13)	1163(129)	2447 (261)

KEY:

A. Housing Issues

H1) physical state (repairs (internal and external), maintenance, heating)

H2) allocation (ownership, transfers, conditions, sales, security of tenure)

H3) financial (rents, charges, rebates, rates)

H4) representation (functions and powers of J.C.B.)

H5) individual complaints

B. Non Housing Issues

(including roads, parks, public facilities, cleaning, public transport

Figure = number of lines in minutes devoted to a specific issue

Figure in brackets = number of occasions a specific issue was discussed

Figure 8.6 Issues discussed at J.C.B. meetings by type and estate/blocks of flats

Source: City Housing Department, J.C.B. Minutes

and Portsdown Park. The actual presentation of these issues and in many cases their subsequent discussion at successive meetings followed a fairly regular pattern of events. Tenants would give a progress report on what had been done or not done on developments since the issue was first raised and officials offered details of what action had been taken or explanations and excuses for apparent inaction.

Not surprisingly issues relating to repairs and maintenance were raised most frequently by tenants' representatives. The problem of having to cope with a large volume of repairs which is typical of housing departments in British cities was plainly evident here. In Portsmouth the problem was compounded by the fact that the maintenance section of the housing department was for part of the study period under investigation by the police and several of its staff had been suspended. Although the specific nature of complaints varied from estate to estate nonetheless it was repairs and maintenance more than any other issue which was discussed at length during J.C.B. meetings. Often individual cases were cited to illustrate the seriousness of the problem. Suggestions as to how such problems could be resolved varied. Officers and councillors on the J.C.B. generally urged tenants to complain to officials in local housing offices or their ward councillors. Some associations threatening to take legal action to get repairs done, but they usually pleaded with the chairman and most senior housing officer present to direct or persuade their colleagues to these actions.

Most associations were concerned about a number of different aspects of housing provision namely the vexed question of rents and charges, the number of wardens available and their precise duties, the perceived inadequacies in the service provided from local offices (Paulsgrove and Leigh Park), allocation policies, empty council dwellings, and, in areas with high-rise blocks of flats, the breakdown of lifts. All but the Roslyn House association placed repairs and maintenance items on the agenda and complained about specific aspects which manifested themselves on particular estates.

The other type of issue which was regularly raised by tenants concerned amenity and environment. The physical appearance, safety, cleanliness, quietness, and accessibility of estates (or parts therefore), were the subject of demands. Again the specific aspects

of the environment discussed varied as between estates. In inner city areas like Landport, complaints were made about car parking congestion and through traffic, while peripheral, lower density Paulsgrove and Leigh Park were, by contrast, more concerned about grass cutting and the care of trees and landscaped areas.

Notwithstanding the overall similarity in the type of issues raised, and demands made for investigation and action from the authorities, there were also specific grievances raised by individual associations. These reflected the differences in the age and character of the built environment between estates (Fig. 8.7). For example, in the case of Paulsgrove the perceived fire hazard associated with many early post war houses were highlighted by the members of the Paulsgrove Action Group. Many flats and maisonettes in Portsdown Park suffered from dampness on a substantial scale and the estate itself was the target of unsympathetic press coverage which was bitterly resented by its tenants. The size of Leigh Park and its unenviable history of joint administration between Havant and Portsmouth councils distinguished it from city estates although not from the more recently built Wecock Farm. The location of Leamington, Solihull and Roslyn Houses in Somers Town, adjoining the city centre, evidently caused tenants in these blocks of flats to suffer from a number of nuisances such as noise caused by revellers late at night and car parking congestion.

Problems raised by associations over this four year period were thus different in type but not in kind. While distinctive patterns of estate issues were apparent in the detailed grievances placed on the agenda and discussed (and occasionally resolved) nonethelss they were broadly concerned with two main categories - housing and amenity. As far as resolving these types of issues was concerned, as we shall see, councillors and officials were often content to investigate, refer and explain why a solution was not feasible. Only in relation to annual rent increases did the authorities take the initiative calling the special meetings to explain and justify proposals which were about to be or which had in fact already been recommended by the Housing Committee of the Council. The type of responses and eventual outcomes will be discussed after reference has been made to issues which were *not* on the agenda of the J.C.B.

PAULSGROVE Repairs and maintenance (12), cleanliness and upkeep of the estate (10), fire risk in houses (6), lack of shops (3), Paulsgrove housing office (2), homeless persons act (2), vacant properties (2), J.C.B. (2), parking (2), rents (2), sale of council properties (2), wardens (2), play area, balconies, surgery, roof insulation, zebra crossing, library, stray dogs, pavements, M27.
PORTSDOWN PARK Repairs and maintenance (5), lifts (3), wardens (3), play areas (3), T.V. aerials (3), blocked drains (3), pedestrian crossing (2), press publicity (2), roads, car park, police station, refuse collection, playgrounds, grit bins, landscaping, skateboard park, empty properties, abandoned cars, fences.
LANDPORT AND BUCKLAND Repairs and maintenance (8), car parks (4), car parking (4), traffic signs (2), wardens(2), lack of shops (2), road safety (2), traffic (2), pigeons, rats, play areas, litter, open spaces, gas central heating, lifts, road repairs, children in high rise accommodation, road sweeping.
LEIGH PARK Repairs and maintenance (15), youth and community facilities (6), Leigh Park housing office (4), empty houses (4), insulation (4), Leigh Park gardens (4), rents (3), bus service (3), representation on Portsmouth city council, chairman to visit estate, grass cutting, under occupation of council properties, transfer of ownership, leisure centre, footpaths, moving costs, oil leak, transfers, security systems for O.A.P.s, cost of getting to estate, sale of houses, allocation of properties to Vietnamese refugees, heating.
WECOCK FARM Roads and footpaths (3), inspection by contractors, school warning signs, horse riding.
HILSEA Tree lopping (4), roads (4), repairs and maintenance (3), rents (2), G.I.A. status, pavements, noise of lorries.
LEAMINGTON AND SOLIHULL HOUSES Repairs and maintenance (6), wardens (4), refuse collection (3), heating (2), windows (2), community room, pavements, lifts, car parking, conditions of tenancy, cleaning rotas, housing officials, balconies, allocation of families with young children to multi-storey blocks.
ROSLYN HOUSE Planning application, security, late night disturbance. (Figure in brackets indicates the number of meetings at which the issue was raised (if on more than one occasion)).

Figure 8.7 Issues placed on the agenda by representatives from different estates (1976-1980)

(vi) Issues not discussed or decided at J.C.B. meetings

Although the tenants' representation appeared to have a major say in setting the agenda of the J.C.B. a striking feature of this forum was that certain important political issues remained dormant or by-passed. In the case of capital and revenue expenditure, and rent increases, it has already been noted that the Director of Housing used the J.C.B. as a vehicle to explain and justify major allocations already decided by the council. But other significant housing matters which were also decided during this period were noticeably absent from its deliberations.

One significant issue which undoubtedly affected a sizeable minority of tenants (those seeking transfers) and certainly all would-be tenants was the system of housing allocation. Portsmouth, like many housing authorities operated a 'date order' system whereby time on the waiting list was the principal factor deciding who was allocated what accommodation when and where. During 1978 an internal departmental working party discussed the defects of the existing system and formulated a points system which was agreed in February 1979 by the Housing Committee as an experiment for a year. It was also decided that in future only those households in which the net income of the principal wage earner was less than £5,000 would be eligible to apply for council accommodation. The new system also included provisions relating to the priority to be accorded to 'key workers' coming from outside the local authority, and also rules and procedures governing transfers and exchanges. Tenants were never informed or consulted via the J.C.B. about the new system at any time. It was reported that that new system had been

> 'well received by applicants .... who were able to see a tangible reason as to when and where they are to be rehoused'.

The Director of Housing was quoted as stating -

> 'acceptance is best judged by the fact that to my knowledge no complaints from housing applicants have been received about the overall system'.
>
> (Appendix to Housing Committee, March 1980).

As we have seen with respect to capital and revenue budgeting - the financial straight-jackets within major housing resources are allocated - decisions were made in committee and then 'explained' at special or ordinary meetings of the J.C.B. It appears that the municipal housing cake was carved up by senior officials notably the director and his senior colleagues in conjunction with the City Treasurer's department. While it is true that councillors on the housing committee, especially those of the minority party had little influence in formulating housing budgets it is evident that tenants had none at all. In the 1978/79 financial year, for example, it was initially proposed that there should be a 10 per cent rent increase. Eventually, however, mainly because there was a balance in the housing revenue account, a rent increase of only 5 per cent was agreed. At no time were these various options put to tenants' representatives for their comment. Likewise during 1977, minority party councillors proposed a four week rent free period (costing £679,110). They pointed out that due to a drop in the minimum lending rate there was an estimated balance of £859,000 in the housing revenue account. Without any consultation with tenants whatsoever or reference to the J.C.B. the housing committee voted down this proposal, and the city council later ratified their recommendation.

Also, during and after 1977, tenants were at no time informed about the irregularities discovered in the supervision of external painting and internal decorating contracts by the maintenance section. Several officers in this section were charged and found guilty of criminal offences; others were disciplined. Eventually contracts with one firm were repudiated and a backlog of maintenance work resulted. Some tenants were later given an allowance to decorate their own dwellings. Although at a certain stage these matters were *sub judice* nonetheless at no time were tenants or their representatives taken into the confidence of senior officers. The situation was used at J.C.B. meetings however to justify the fact that urgent repairs had fallen woefully behind schedule. The idea that tenants who were actually living in the dwellings supposedly being refurbished might play any part in ensuring that contracts were being properly completed did not occur to or was ruled out by officials and councillors and the J.C.B. (The fact that tenants did not raise the issue may indicate that they were out of touch with what was going on in their areas).

In the same way, the tenants of Portsdown Park were minimally informed about the long-running battle over contractual difficulties between the council and construction companies over delay in completing that award winning estate, and the dampness which plagued it thereafter. Eventually the council decided not to continue legal proceedings against a local construction company over the costs incurred in remedial work on the estate. Tenants meanwhile who were living in damp flats were being admonished at J.C.B. meetings by the Director of Housing for threatening to take the council to court to force them to make repairs to abate the nuisance under the 1936 Public Health Act.

In inner city Landport and Portsea, the necessity of making environmental improvements, and the question of modernizing decaying inter-war blocks of flats were being discussed within the council. These matters however were not raised by officials at the J.C.B. partly, no doubt, because these particular areas were not adequately represented. Likewise a major renewal programme of high rise blocks of flats in Somers Town was planned, decided and implemented entirely without recourse to the J.C.B. A total of £4.5 millions was spent on four blocks built in the late 1960s on recladding; lifts renewing, windows, heating and roofs; and redecoration. The decisions were largely made by a working party comprising senior officials. Confidential 'negotiated tenders' were agreed with the one civil engineering company which undertook most of the work. Tenants in Somerstown who were forced to move, and indeed all tenants who in part paid for these repairs through their rents were not consulted. The only way in which the J.C.B. came into the picture was when complaints were received about the actual process of decanting tenants, and the noise generated on site.

Other major policy issues such as proposals to build additional council housing in the Boroughs of Havant and Fareham did not feature on the agenda of the J.C.B. Neither did the related questions of whether or not to let accommodation at Leigh Park to the children of Portsmouth tenants, and the possible long term transfer of ownership of Portsmouth's housing stock to these neighbouring authorities. Important topics such as council house sales and ways of reducing rent arrears were excluded 'by default'. Future priorities such as building sheltered housing for the elderly which became council policy during this time were decided without recourse to the J.C.B.

(vii) Official actions and responses

The J.C.B.s cope for direct action in response to the numerous grievances, enquiries and demands raised by representatives of council tenants was strictly limited. It was not an executive body, nor did it have any powers. Thus officials and councillors who represented the council side on the organisation generally were only able to 'refer', 'bring the matter to the attention of', 'chase up', 'look into and monitor the situation', 'write to', 'hold meetings with', 'pass complaints on to', and (in one case) 'inform .... of the J.C.B.s displeasure at ....', J.C.B. Minutes. In other words an initial, (symbolic) response was made in the form of being attentive, sympathetic and concerned over the issues raised. Thereafter individual officers were expected to take action, by either within their own departmental domains asking their colleagues to resolve the matter, or refer it to some other public and private agency. Occasionally councillors also agreed to intervene personally in finding a solution to a problem but generally were content to leave the initiative to the chairman of the J.C.B. Presumably it was in his personal capacity as chairman of the Housing Committee rather than of the J.C.B. that his influence would be felt.

Nonetheless at meetings officials were obliged to explain what they would do over a specific issue and thereafter (when matters arising from the minutes of the previous meeting were raised) give a progress report on developments or justify apparent inaction. Thus the following comments were forthcoming at meetings of the J.C.B. during the 1976-80 period - 'the city engineer would attend a meeting of the tenants association to advise on the matter'; 'copies of the report would be sent .... they were not yet ready'; 'a meeting would be held .... representatives would be informed of the outcome'; 'their comments would be reported to the next meeting of the housing (general purposes) sub-committee'; 'City Engineer undertook to bring the matter to the transportation committee's attention'; 'they were awaiting the fire prevention officer's report .... did not want to take a policy decision until it had been received'; 'would examine the problem and pass the information onto the county road construction unit'; 'doubted if any finance could be made available to carry out remedial work'; 'site visit would be arranged to look at the problem at first hand'; 'the city

engineer reported the matter had been submitted to the transport committee who subsequently referred it to the planning sub-committee, and the possibility of a road closure was being looked into' (J.C.B. minutes).

There is evidence however that on some issues at least demands and complaints by tenant representatives are treated in more than a cursory manner. Indeed they are fully investigated and, in some cases, resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned. A few examples will illustrate the extent of official response to selected grievances raised at meetings of the J.C.B. (Of course it should be borne in mind that this is rarely the only channel to be used in bringing an issue to the attention of councillors and officers or putting pressure on them). During 1977 representatives of the New Buckland Residents Association had expressed concern at the J.C.B. that estate roads were being used as through routes by heavy goods vehicles. The matter was referred by the J.C.B. to the transportation committee who resolved that the city engineer should investigate the situation. A detailed traffic survey was undertaken which recorded the number of H.G.V.s entering and leaving Buckland. The report showed that of the 146 H.G.V.s entering the area only 43 were using the estate as a short cut while the remainder were actually making deliveries in the area. The survey also showed that these 43 vehicles were evenly spread through the 13 estate roads. The city engineer's report concluded that while there were a substantial number of vehicles using this residential area over one hundred had a legitimate reason for being there, i.e. were delivering to local schools and shops. He stated that a heavy commercial vehicle restriction zone enclosing Buckland would be costly and the road layout would make it difficult for the police to enforce such a ban. His recommendation was that the problem did not warrant such a restriction. The transportation committee later accepted this recommendation and their decision was in turn relayed to tenants via the J.C.B., who despite still feeling strongly about it reluctantly accepted this decision. In a sense they had little choice since they were unable to dispute the professional judgements of the officers concerned or the information upon which they were based.

A second case study involved the Hilsea Residents' Association. At the J.C.B. meeting of March, 1976, concern was expressed at the

condition of the trees on Hilsea Playing Fields owned by Portsmouth Grammar School. The city architect who was present agreed to pass on the complaints to the school authorities. Six months later it was reported by tenants that no action had been taken, and an investigation was promised as to whether or not the original request had been passed on. By March, 1977, the director of the leisure services department reported that his department had been approached by the school for advice on the removal of one particular tree. The school had not responded and the matter would be looked into further. In November of that year it was reported that a letter had been sent to the school drawing their attention to the fact that they were legally liable for any damage or injury caused by the state of the tree. Finally at the J.C.B. meeting of the 19th January, 1978, Mr. Martin of the Hilsea Tenants' Association reported that following the City Secretary and Solicitor's letter to the school the trees had been finally lopped. An indication of the lengthy and tortuous processes involved in solving items raised at the J.C.B. can be seen from this case study.

Other long-standing issues such as failure of lifts in the Portsdown Park; the alleged fire risk in some of Paulsgrove's houses; dog fouling in play areas; the upkeep of the Paulsgrove estate; empty council properties in Leigh Park (allegedly an average of about 100 at any one time); and dampness in flats at Portsdown Park were all discussed on several occasions and never satisfactorily resolved.

In such cases although the outcome was not satisfactory as far as tenants were concerned the grievance was at least thoroughly investigated and the background and reasons why a speedy solution was not possible were explained by appropriate senior officers. On several occasions tenants representatives on the J.C.B. were involved in site visits and meetings with councillors, officials and other agencies, for example, over lifts in Portsdown Park. Frequently, however, the matter was simply referred to the appropriate committee. In relation to relative minor matters of service delivery, chief officers either asked tenant representatives to contact their junior official themselves but when apparent irregularities or deficiencies in quantity or quality of service provision were unearthed they promised to investigate personally. Reasons given for inaction included that the issue was beyond the responsibility of the city council; funds had not been allocated in the previous year's capital or revenue budget; or staff

had not been appointed or were unavoidably absent.

Issues raised at the J.C.B. were useful to high ranking, desk bound officials since it permitted them to hear where the shoe was pinching in relation to street level service provision on outlying council estates. They also constituted a feedback mechanism on the performance of their staff. In contrast, as far as tenants were concerned even when important issues got onto the J.C.B. agenda, this forum lacked the political clout to obtain a favourable outcome. More significantly, perhaps, the forum did not act as an effective access point into those parts of the council's political structure which could resolve them.

There were some occasions, however, when tenants' representatives expressed their gratitude for official action and tangible benefits which had been achieved as a result of their demands. At the February 1980 meeting Mrs. Campbell of the Paulsgrove Action Committee stated that there was a vast improvement in the street sweeping on the estate. The city engineer undertook to convey these congratulations to his staff. On the same occasion the Leigh Park Residents' and Ratepayers' Association expressed their thanks to the chairman for the way in which the city council had cooperated with Havant over the clearing of a copse and the provision of land for a youth activities centre. (Whether these sentiments were sincere, or merely expressions used to gain favour with the chairman is a matter of speculation).

The only other possible benefit which tenants' representatives gained from the membership of the J.B.C. was the information both explanations and written and oral provided by officials and councillors. Tenants' representatives presumably left such meetings better informed as to the background to decisions taken over such matters as rents which were going to affect their members. How far they agreed with the explanations provided and relayed this information to other members of their committees or members cannot be gauged. (The written comments of two of its members are reproduced in Appendix F). But there is little doubt that they returned better informed and thus a limited number of tenants had the opportunity for a new and valuable experience (Boaden et al, 1982, p. 102).

(viii) Recent developments

Since 1981 the J.C.B. has continued to operate in much the same way as described above i.e. a general forum for consultation between the city council and tenants. As we have seen it was deemed not to be suitable to constitute the only mechanism for consultation under Section 43 of the 1980 Housing Act. As far as support from the council for tenants associations on the J.C.B. was concerned an assistant director of housing said he would be pleased to attend annual general meetings of tenants' associations. The question of financial assistance for associations was not pursued, although the city council was said to be in a position to help an association in exceptional cases. Changes did occur in the composition of the J.C.B. for example Wecock Farm representatives failed to attend meetings in 1981 and 1982. Mr. Clarricoates - for many years the secretary of Paulsgrove Tenants' Association - having purchased his home from the council, was no longer qualified to attend and Mr. Kennett, as a tenant of Havant Borough Council, no longer qualified to represent Leigh Park. Crookhorn was for the first time well represented on the J.C.B. in terms of the number of issues raised and the continuity of attendance.

The issues of the annual discussion of proposed rent increases raised by tenants did not change dramatically and they included housing and amenity problems including the quality of repairs and maintenance by both private contractors and the direct labour organisation; the formulation of new tenancy agreements; lorry parking and the bus service to the Crookhorn Estate; the Paulsgrove chalk pit; the allocation of flats in high rise blocks to families with young children; the discontinuation of the provision of dustbins free of charge to council tenants outside the city; the appointment of a housing welfare officer; and the system of transfers and exchanges currently in operation.

(ix) Conclusion

The J.C.B. was initially established by Portsmouth City Council in the 1960s when Portsmouth tenants (and especially those living outside the city boundaries and therefore 'unrepresented') pressed for places on the housing committee. Neither at that time nor subsequently during the 1970s and into the 1980s has the housing

authority been prepared to grant any share in authoritative decision making to its tenants. What they have done is to create an agency which provides for an exchange of information and views between officials and councillors and representatives of whatever tenants' associations happened to exist at a given time.

The chairman of the housing committee and the director of housing found the J.C.B. useful since it has given them an opportunity to explain to officers of tenants' assocations the scale and complexity of problems they face in having a responsibility for 27,000 council dwellings. Thus, for example, annual rent increases can be put in the context of increases in debt charges and the backlog of repairs. The J.C.B. enables senior housing officers to check up on how well their department is operating at the grass roots. For example complaints about empty properties and absent wardens provides 'evidence' of inefficiency which can be investigated. The J.C.B. also helps to coordinate action with officials from other departments with responsibilities for the environment of council estates.

For their part tenants undoubtedly found attending the J.C.B. meetings an informative experience. They were provided with official and even semi-confidential reports and carefully recorded minutes. They were given (sometimes after a considerable delay) detailed answers and explanations to the queries and complaints they raised. They were seldom wholly satisfied with these responses and sometimes annoyed and resentful when little or no apparent progress was made with respect to problems on their own estates. In some instances, however, tenant demands were partly or wholly met and on such occasions no doubt the whole exercise seemed worthwhile (see Appendix E).

Overall though the J.C.B. remains a weak and ineffective agency. There are many major policy issues which are never or rarely discussed after - let alone before - decisions by the housing committee are made. Representations on the part of tenants throughout the city and on overspill estates is uneven and sporadic and the efforts which have been made to broaden and formalise it have been half-hearted and largely unsuccessful. The J.C.B. meets too infrequently to keep developments under close scrutiny and while officials are faced with the need to attend regularly and respond to complaints they are given excessive time and discretion in so doing.

The deficiencies of the J.C.B. more than offset its merits. The pessimistic note struck by Andrews (1979) is certainly applicable to Portsmouth. Tenant participation, he argues, rarely succeeds because the rules are made and procedures controlled by the authority; there are insufficient tenant organisations, and some tenant demands are unacceptable to officers and councillors. It is a good example of what Richardson calls 'selective and selected participation'.

Here tenant consultation served a number of functions which normally are regarded as being both incorporative (taking tenants into the system but giving them no influence). It also served as a one sided exchange agency. From the reactions of tenant representatives the housing department obtained feedback on past decisions and an indication of likely response to future ones. Tenants used the J.C.B. as a defacto complaints forum but were precluded from having any real say on broader issues. For those living outside the city boundaries who were, and still are, unrepresented on Portsmouth City Council and its committees, the J.C.B. was designed to make them feel less neglected. It certainly did *not* give them, or indeed city tenants, a forceful voice in housing matters.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION : CONSULTATION WITH PARENTS OVER SIXTH FORM PROVISION

As Honey and Sorenson (1984) have noted closing schools is often very traumatic, not only for those whose school is in jeopardy but also for those making the decisions. It arises out of population loss or shifts, a decline in the birth rate, obsolete buildings, a prevailing attitude among educational administrators that learning is enhanced in schools large enough to provide curricular and staff flexibility, and fiscal retrenchment. School reorganisation and, in particular, school closure is an acute spatial political problem because benefits and costs which are not geographically uniform, are altered (e.g. proximity to a school means a quick and safe journey for pupils and quiet weekends for neighbours) -

> 'Closing schools destroys benefits while imposing additional costs on children and their parents when children are reassigned to more distant schools'.
>
> (Honey and Sorenson, p. 119).

The potential for conflict is therefore high.

The procedures for making school reorganisation and closure decisions are likely to be crucial. In Britain central government legislation and guidelines (particularly the 1980 Education Act and subsequent circulars) have ensured that parents are informed and consulted and have the right to object to the Secretary of State. One strategy employed by officials to de-politise such decisions is to turn them into technical issues to be decided in part by experts. But even the expert assessment of buildings, costs and pupil re-assignment; and the preparation of an array of alternatives with supporting background data, does not result in what Honey and Sorenson call 'a politically antiseptic result'. Schools are being reorganised and closed in many British cities but there are few, if any, studies known to the author of either the technicalities or political processes by which these changes in educational provision are (or are not) being accomplished (Bailey, 1982; Thomas and Robson, 1984).

During 1981 and 1982 parents in Portsmouth were consulted over the future shape of 6th form education. The LEA, (Hampshire County

Council) faced with falling school rolls, declining numbers in 6th forms of several secondary schools, and the need to make savings proposed that changes be made to 6th form provision in the city. The local area office was charged with investigating the problem and, having consulted those potentially affected, to make recommendations as to future changes to the county's education committee.

Discussions on the issue took place over a period of 18 months and a two-stage consultation exercise was mounted over (1) what form future 6th form provision should take, and (2) which existing secondary school should be closed to make way for a 6th form college. Parents of all school children in the city were consulted as well as school governors, teachers and the public. The involvement of parents and the public over this issue provided an opportunity to explore the extent and efficiency of public involvement in an aspect of educational policy making in one British city. As Boaden et al (1982) have noted it is over such administrative questions in education that public involvement is frequently encouraged.

Although there is one parent representative on governing bodies of all schools in the city, they are heavily outnumbered by political appointees including the nominees of the majority Conservative party. Governing bodies have been characterised by Packwood (1984, p.271), 'as something of a catspaw; convenient at different times for promoting different purposes'. He argues that they are basically talking shops which have ambiguous objectives, uncertain authority and only indirect accountability. In Portsmouth, as elsewhere, political decisions of the authority (Hampshire) affecting the size of the education budget, the pattern of schooling, the pupil/teacher ratio, and curriculum planning are beyond their scope. Although many schools have thriving parent-teacher associations they are not formally represented in decision-making bodies and spend much of their time fund raising and organising social events. Thus opportunities for parents to be directly or even indirectly involved in major educational decisions affecting their children are limited.

This chapter focuses on the role of parents in one aspect of educational policy-making. Initially the city's school system is outlined, and the 'problem' of 6th forms as defined and presented

by officials is noted. The main part of the chapter comprises a detailed analysis of the form, functions and outcome of the consultation process that was undertaken. The pattern of involvement by parents in the city is noted as are the roles of county councillors and officers who were centrally involved in the consultation process and determining its outcome.

There are theoretical (managerialist) reasons for anticipating that educational officers will manage any public consultation in the interests of gaining acceptance for policies they believe in and (coincidentally) are in the interests of organisations to which they belong. Also locational theory suggests that participation on the part of parents will revolve around individual schools which are threatened and only then by parents who see their children as being directly adversely affected. Members of the public who live close to schools will protest if a change in the status of a school is thought to adversely affect their neighbourhood amenity.

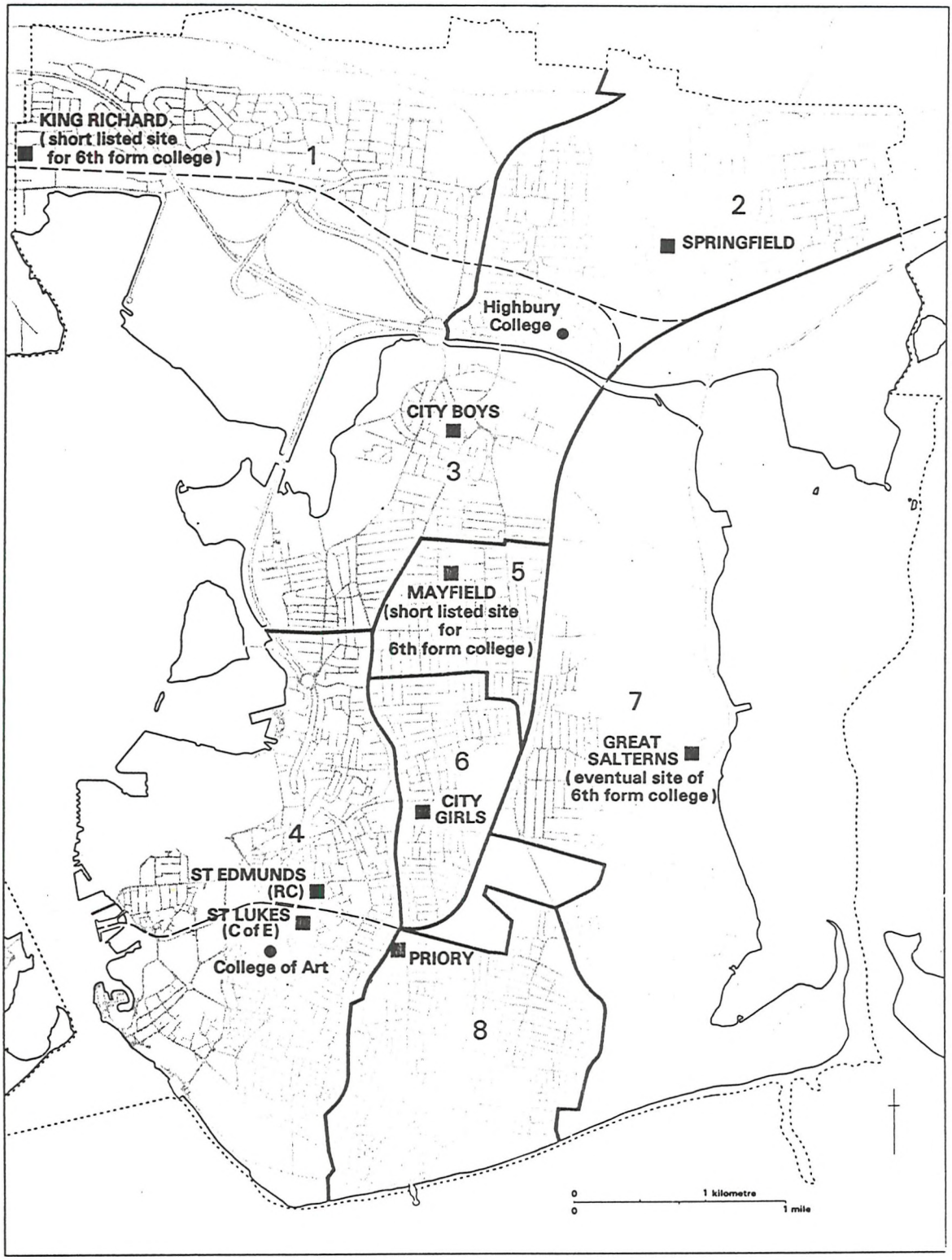
(i) Secondary education in Portsmouth

Following reorganisation along comprehensive lines in 1975, nine maintained comprehensive secondary schools were established in the city. In 1981 a total of 10,439 pupils were being taught in the secondary sector of which only 750 were in 6th forms. While the two denominational and two single sex schools drew their intake from broader areas of the city, entry to the remaining five mixed comprehensives was primarily from neighbourhood, feeder middle schools. The city operated a 'designated area' system whereby parents were permitted to send their children to a school other than their designated one only if there were 'extra' places available. Details of non-denominational secondary schools in the city are presented in Fig. 9.1 and the location of schools and their catchment areas is shown in Fig. 9.2. Clearly schools in Portsmouth vary as to their previous status, the size of their total rolls and that of their 6th forms: and (in so far as the number of 'enforced' pupils is a measure of unpopularity and the percentage of pupils from outside the catchment area is a measure of their popularity) the esteem in which they are held. Priory and Mayfield had 6th forms of over 100 each, while there were between 50 and 100 sixthformers at Springfield, City Boys and City Girls, and Great Salterns. This latter group, and especially

	King Richard	Springfield	City of Portsmouth Boys	City of Portsmouth Girls	Mayfield	Priory	Great Salterns
Former status (pre 1975)	Secondary Modern	Secondary Modern	Boys Technical High School	Girls Secondary Modern	Grammar School	Girls Grammar School	Grammar School for Boys
No. Pupils 1982	1032	1105	1588	899	1633	1218	1057
1981	1110	1088	1568	937	1637	1229	1124
No. in 6th Form 1981	25	62	76	53	177	137	71
% 6th form of total roll	2%	6%	5%	6%	11%	11%	6%
'enforced' pupils (not first choice)	107	-	34	65	10	-	-
pupils from outside designated area as % of places offered (1981)	1	12	54	36	27	20	16
estimated intake 1981	194	241	360	175	363	259	217
(based on parental 1985	14	200	307	88	312	260	156
choice) 1988	76	152	260	71	282	250	150

Figure 9.1 Non-denominational secondary schools

Source: Area Education Office



1 King Richard (B & G)
2 Springfield (B & G)
3 City Boys
Mayfield (G)
4 City Boys
City Girls
5 Mayfield (B & G)
6 Mayfield (B)
City Girls
7 Great Salterns (B & G)
8 Priory (B & G)

(B) Boys
(G) Girls

Figure 9.2 Secondary schools and catchment areas

Source: Area Education Office

King Richard School, had a very small number of pupils doing purely 'A' level courses in the 6th form. On the basis of estimated future intakes, all schools would, it was estimated by local officials, have spare capacity by the end of the decade. Two (King Richard and City Girls) would, if parents selected schools for their children as in the past, be left with tiny intakes. Whereas in January 1981 the 15+ age group in the city totalled 2,513, by 1993 it was estimated that it would decline to 1,470. Given a 20 per cent staying-on rate it was feared that most if not all 6th forms would not be viable.

As can be seen on Fig. 9.2 all but the two single sex schools had catchment areas based largely on a neighbourhood principle. In the north-west of the city King Richard serves the predominantly local authority housing estates of Paulsgrove and Wymering; to the east of the A3, Springfield's catchment area covers Cosham, Farlington and Drayton as well as Highbury (where the city's largest further education college is situated). Great Salterns catered for children in the east of Portsea Island and Priory is the only non-denominational state secondary school in the south of the city. St. Edmund's R.C. and St. Luke's C. of E. are adjoining the city centre, and of the three major private day schools Portsmouth Grammar School is in Old Portsmouth and the Girls High School and St. John's College are located nearby in Southsea. The catchment areas of Mayfield and the two single sex schools - all more 'centrally' placed in the city - are more complex. Pupils are allocated to these schools depending both where they live and by sex. Thus girls in Hilsea went to Mayfield and boys to City Boys, whereas Copnor boys were allocated Mayfield and girls expected to go to the City Girls School.

This then was the structure of secondary education in the city in 1981. Each of the schools offered a varying range of 'A' level and less academic courses in its 6th form. The total number of pupils in the schools varied considerably as did the size of their sixth forms. In addition, many 16 year olds attended courses at Highbury College of Technology, and the College of Art, Design and Further Education. Some travelled outside the city notably those living in the north east of the city who attended Havant 6th Form College in substantial numbers.

(ii) Official definition of the problem

There is no evidence that any concern regarding the quality of 6th form provision in Portsmouth was articulated by either parents or teachers in the city. Nor indeed that county councillors or school governors put the issue on the agenda. Rather that in the early 1980s education officials at Winchester and in the local area office, prompted by the Department of Education and Science began to look critically at the size of some school sixth forms. A policy response to cope with future falling school rolls was required. County officials had already confronted the problem elsewhere in Hampshire, for example, in the Gosport area. Elected members, although they did not initiate the debate, were very soon also voicing their concern. Thus in 1981 Councillor Merridale, Chairman of the Hampshire Education Committee was quoted as saying that

> 'while comprehensive schools in Portsmouth had done an excellent job and the results in 6th forms are very creditable indeed .... nonetheless it is easy (but undesirable) to shut one's eyes to the impending storm and let matters drift on in cosy complacency'.
>
> (Portsmouth News, 12 December 1981)

The projected falling school rolls; the small size of several existing 6th forms and the limited range of 'A' level courses being offered; the apparent success of 6th form colleges and tertiary colleges elsewhere in Hampshire; together with the familiar backcloth of the need to make economies all convinced officials and councillors that structural changes in the school system were necessary. The possibility of a solution involving *ad hoc* arrangements whereby 6th form pupils could transfer on a full-time or shared basis between schools was rejected at the outset. Officials argued that there was no way of achieving an acceptable level of 6th form education, and at the same time making economies, if they retained the existing pattern of secondary schools.

Whilst clearly impressed by the need to take action councillors evidently viewed the prospect with some trepidation. In Gosport the loss of the sixth forms of certain schools had been vigorously and successfully opposed and they feared that the public might not readily accept the need for yet another major alteration in the school

system especially if it involved the closure of any schools. Councillor Merridale was at pains to point out that

> 'these predictions (of falling rolls) were not the work of bureaucrats playing with theoretical calculations but were based on actual births and children in schools'.
>
> (Portsmouth News, 12 December, 1981)

Thus the question of 6th form reorganisation was highlighted and framed by officials. County councillors mindful of the potential acrimony of such an issue, were already attempting to rally public support for change.

(iii) Aims of the consultation programme

Parents and others were to be consulted over any future changes in 6th form provision. The local newspaper reported the issue under the headline - 'Parents are to have a say in 6th form college plan' (Portsmouth News, 12 November, 1981). The county's education committee resolved on the 29th of September 1981 that consultations should be held in accordance with the authorities normal practice. Namely that members of governing bodies; the staff of all 12-18 schools, and the two further education colleges; teacher representatives; parents; the public and members of the local area advisory committee should all be asked for their views. Consultation was to test the opinion of interested people in the city and those who might be affected by the establishment of a 6th form college. Thus while the views of parents and members of the public in the city were being solicited, they were not the only ones with a stake in the issue whom the authority was anxious to consult. The outcome of the process was to be reported 'for consideration' by the Portsmouth area advisory committee and the county authorities.

There was no doubt however that the public and parents were to give their views within parameters laid down by the authorities. This feature was particularly evident in the case of the first questionnaire survey. The reply slip attached was for parents to express their opinion *within the alternatives now under consideration.* Thus the organisers of the consultation process (the area office) were constraining and focussing the debate. Precisely who was deciding

what was left ambiguous. They explained that they hoped that *a majority opinion* could be obtained for consideration by the Portsmouth area advisory committee who then would advise the L.E.A.

Governors, teachers, parents and the public were to be consulted. The fact that they were generally placed in this order on the official forms may or may not be significant in terms of the weight to be attached to the views of each group. Ambiguity was also apparent in terms of the purpose, precise status of the exercise (what significance was to be attached to the results) and the mechanisms to be used. The form it actually took is outlined in Fig. 9.3 which pinpoints the stages at which parents and the public in the city were consulted. Some of the key agencies concerned are illustrated in Fig. 9.4.

(iv) Initial stages in the consultation process

As already noted education officials at the Castle in Winchester and in the Civic Offices in Portsmouth, mindful of the circulars emanating from the D.E.S., saw the spare capacity and small sixth forms in certain secondary schools in the city as financially unacceptable and educationally undesirable. From the outset the twin issues of reducing the number of secondary schools (and thereby filling up those remaining) and providing a broader based curriculum for 6th formers were interlinked. Alternative solutions such as *ad hoc* arrangements to allow transfers between 6th forms (already taking place on a small scale) were ruled out. Nor was it thought feasible to solve the twin problems by closing one or more secondary schools. This ('fewer secondary schools but with larger 6th forms') solution was rejected by the area advisory committee's working party on the advice of the area education officer. Although it would solve the problem in accommodation terms the numbers in the 6th form would not remain sufficiently viable to offer a broad range of subjects it was suggested. By linking the two problems (half empty secondary schools and small 6th forms) inextricably together a strategy involving 'killing two birds with one stone' was being employed. Locating a 6th form or tertiary college on the site of an existing secondary school was clearly in the minds of the officials a neat and probably politically acceptable solution.

Tertiary and 6th form colleges had been established as alterantives to traditional 6th forms in other parts of Hampshire.

Figure 9.3 Decision-making and consultation process 1981-82

1981	
1st Stage	
29 Sept.	Hampshire Schools Sub-Committee resolved consultations should be held with all interested parties in the city - boards of governors, staff of secondary schools, parents and the public
29 Sept.	Letter sent to all schools in the city by the Area Office announcing timetable for public meetings
4 Nov.	at Springfield) at which a presentation of
10 Nov.	at City Boys) the case for change was
11 Nov.	at Great Salterns) made by officials,
11 Nov.	at King Richard (18 present)) possible policies to solve
18 Nov.	at City Girls (for Priory parents also)) the problem discussed, and first questionnaires and
18 Nov.	at Mayfield (300 present)) explanatory notes were distributed.
19 Nov.	Second letter sent to all schools with explanatory notes and questionnaires to be delivered to parents by children
October/ December	Special meetings of board of governors of all secondary schools at which the case for change was presented by officials and resolutions invited.
1982	
12 Jan.	The matter discussed by Portsmouth City Council, after a 'presentation' of the issues by the Area Education Officer
1 Feb.	The Area Advisory Committee while regretting the need for change unanimously agreed to the establishment of a 6th form college
16 March	Hampshire Education Committee's Schools Sub-Committee agreed in principle to the establishment of a 6th form college and requested consultations to be held to ascertain views of the public as to most suitable site.
2nd Stage	
17 May	Mayfield) Meetings as 'short listed' schools. Merits
19 May	King Richard) and demerits of individual schools and sites
24 May	Great Salterns) for colleges discussed; explanatory notes and questionnaires distributed to those present to be returned by 16 June
28 May	Letter to all schools with explanatory notes and questionnaires to be delivered to parents by children
21 June	Area Advisory Committee voted (by 20-5 majority) in favour of *Mayfield School* as site for 6th form college
13 July	Schools Sub-Committee (by 17-3 majority) voted for *Great Salterns School* to be site of 6th form college
29 July	Portsmouth City Council voted (28-12) for 6th form college 'somewhere in Portsmouth but not at Paulsgrove'. Resolution in favour of *Mayfield* as the site was defeated (8-28), Resolution in favour of *Great Salterns* as the site was defeated (16-17).
14 Sept.	Hampshire Education Committee confirmed the Schools Sub-Committee recommendation for the site of new 6th form college at *Great Salterns*.
14 Oct.	Critical resolution by the Area Advisory Committee at a meeting of the Combined Teachers Group.
24 Nov.	Formal objection to Secretary of State by Great Salterns parents to the designation of that school as the site of the 6th form college.
Autumn 1983	County decision confirmed by Minister.

Source: Area Education Office

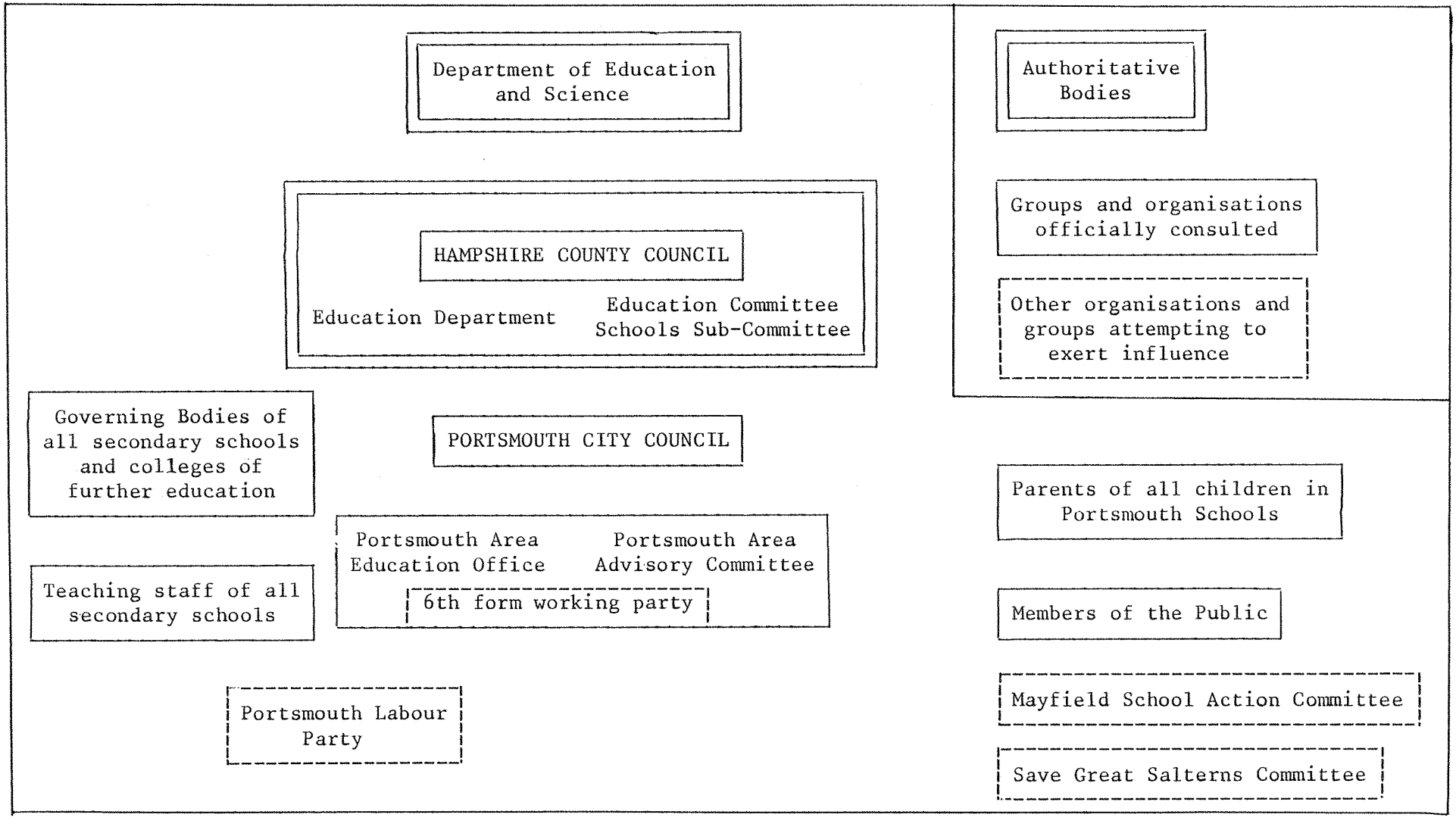


Figure 9.4 Organisations involved in authorative decision making and influence attempts over 6th form provision in Portsmouth

However, the county schools sub-committee (hereafter commonly referred to as the education committee) did not state their preference for any specific reorganised 6th form system for the City of Portsmouth publicly at this stage. They certainly did not wish to be seen to be forcing any particular solution onto one of their eight area sub-divisions. Consultation with the local area advisory committee, parents and teachers was thus politically convenient as well as being a statutory requirement.

The officials in the area office defined four possible options. Preserving the status quo was all but excluded for in all official documents and discussions it was said to be an 'unrealistic' alternative. In explanatory notes accompanying the first questionnaire the disadvantages of such a course of action were strenuously stressed and the advantages minimized. At all the meetings which were held, officials told audiences of the educational dangers of falling school rolls and the consequent reduction in the numbers of pupils in schools particularly in their 6th forms.

> 'Every effort must be made to point out the seriousness of the situation - falling rolls, size of 6th form classes, restricted range of 'A' level choices and the non-viability of secondary schools in future'.
>
> (Minutes of the Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee's Working Party)

The area education officer and her colleagues duly availed themselves of every opportunity to demonstrate this point with the aid of graphs and statistics. Their views were echoed by councillors.

Nonetheless retaining the status quo was included on the list of options in the first questionnaire, albeit accompanied by discouraging comments. The three additional options were - (1) a mixed system of some 12-16 schools with 6th forms and some without, (2) provision of a 6th form college (replacing one existing secondary school), (4) a tertiary college. The demerits of (1) - the hybrid system - were also fully emphasized in both educational and social terms. It was also stated that

> 'such a system was in direct contradiction to the attitude of the authority in adjacent parts of the county since it created a first and second class division of schools'.
>
> (Minutes of the Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee's Working Party)

There was no doubt that (2) and (3) were thought to have many more advantages to administrators not least because they involved the removal of one secondary school thereby easing the problem of declining numbers in the rest.

A cursory glance at the advantages and disadvantages listed on the paper presented to the area advisory committee (Appendix F) and the notes accompanying the questionnaire shows that they are far from balanced in terms of number and content. The number of points made for and against each solution was as follows: (1) status quo (+2 / -7); (2) mixed (+1 / -4); (3) 6th form college (+4 / -5); (4) tertiary college (+2 / -7).

It is also evident that 'strength' of the arguments varied as between the options proposed. Some of the merits of options (1) and (2) - the least desirable scenarios in the authority's view - can barely be seen as advantages at all. In other words, the authority represented by the area office took a far from neutral stance but presented the alternatives as it saw them. Change was needed and the favoured solution was a 6th form college located on the site of an existing secondary school with all the remaining secondary schools catering exclusively for 12-16 year old pupils.

Considerable effort was made to provide this information to as many parents as possible and circulate the questionnaires. Attendance of the public at a series of meetings varied enormously from 18 at King Richard, 60 at Great Salterns, to over 300 at Mayfield. Any reference to the closure of schools was studiously avoided (the public notices advertising these meetings noted merely that their purpose was to discuss the future 6th form provision in the city). Inevitably, however, the question as to which school would provide the site for a college was raised in questions put to officers and councillors at the public meetings. Some parents and the press interpreted the answers given by officials as suggesting that Mayfield School was a strong candidate to become the 6th form college, and, not surprisingly, Mayfield parents and Copnor residents were alerted at an early stage in defence of their school. Other parents, including those with children at Great Salterns, saw no threat to their own schools.

Governors were ambivalent as to the need to make alterations to a system that had been reorganised as recently as just over a decade ago. Governing bodies of schools with large 6th forms, for example those of Mayfield and Springfield, were not convinced as to the need for change. Some voted for the status quo, others, such as those at Priory, reluctantly for a 6th form college. Teachers also expressed reservations about making structural changes. Most expressed a preference for a 6th form college rather than a tertiary college fearing school job losses if 6th form pupils were taught in the further education sector. On balance many were unimpressed, at the outset at least, by the case for such a radical change.

It was soon clear that relatively few parents and members of the public had returned questionnaire ballot reply slips. The low response rate generated by this first consultation exercise was startling. Only 468 completed forms were returned - a pitiful number given that there were 25,000 parents of school age children in the city. Thus a tiny fraction of those invited to attend public meetings and those receiving forms via their schools completed and returned them to the local education office by the date stipulated. Even taking into account the fact that only approximately 20 per cent of children in the city stay on at school after 16 this was still a desperately low response rate. The response rate varied considerably between school catchment areas, with parents and public in the Mayfield area providing over half of the total. Apart from the 114 Springfield parents the rest of the city chose largely to ignore the survey, presumably feeling that it didn't affect them or their school sufficiently. Many parents other than those with children at Mayfield either did not realise that establishing a 6th form college would entail the closure of a secondary school, or that it would not be 'their' school which would disappear.

While there was support for all four options it was the 6th form college which was the most popular. Mayfield parents were the only group not to vote overwhelmingly for the 6th form college option (Fig. 9.5). Scrutiny of the Mayfield replies revealed that some 95 respondents stated categorically that Mayfield should *not* be chosen as the site of any college established. In comments accompanying the ballot a number of parents said they found it difficult to state whether

	Parents	Teachers	Public	Total Votes cast for each solution
Status quo	102	10	3	115 (24%)
Mixed system	81	3	5	89 (19%)
6th form college	164	19	7	190 (41%)
Tertiary college	69	1	4	74 (16%)
Total votes cast	416	33	19	468

[95 votes were in favour of more than one option]

Votes cast by catchment area	M	GrS	KR	P	S	CB+CG
Status quo	86	7	1	1	15	5
Mixed	76	2	0	2	8	1
6th form college	58	25	4	29	67	7
Tertiary college	29	5	1	10	24	5
Total vote by catchment area	249 (53%)	39 (8%)	6 (1%)	42 (9%)	114 (24%)	18 (4%)

Figure 9.5 The results of the first ballot

Source: Area Education Office

they preferred the retention of the status quo or a mixed system of 12-16 and 12-18 schools one the one hand, or some form of college. Between these two possibilities the vote was finely balanced with 43 per cent favouring 6th form in schools and 57 per cent a college system.

A selection of comments made by parents and the public in the space set aside gives an indication of the thinking behind the votes. Many agreed with the sentiments expressed by a Mayfield parent who wrote - 'the idea of a 6th form college is marvellous but not based on an existing school'. More than 50 Mayfield parents cited educational and amenity reasons why Mayfield School should not be chosen as the site of a college. (This sort of comment in a sense pre-empted the second part of the consultation exercise). Another Mayfield parent stated 'the school with the lowest success rate should be converted if this is to happen at all, at least the children would be offered a better education in compensation for their travel which would not be the case if Mayfield was to close!'. Several cited specific objections based on a perceived threat to amenity - 'where would 6th formers park their cars .... not outside my house I hope', 'the community life of the area will be cut to shreds'; 'this entirely residential area will be flooded with young adults with all the consequent problems especially of traffic and parking'. Many of those opposed to any change were equally specific in the reasons they gave in support of the status quo. Some parents did little to hide the fact that they thought the whole consultation exercise was a waste of time.

The results of this consultation were discussed by the local area advisory committee at their meeting of the 1st February, 1982. They interpreted the results as a narrow but firm mandate for change and resolved that a 6th form college be established on the site of an existing secondary school. Lingering doubts as to the wisdom of altering the system so radically remained in the minds of some members of the advisory committee but they were reminded of the forecasted fall in school numbers. The consultation exercise result was interpreted as showing that at least a majority of the few parents and the members of the public who had participated - in addition to governors and teachers - favoured the 6th form college option.

It should be remembered that the advisory committee is a diffuse body comprising majority and opposition party councillors, teachers, governors and assorted other co-opted individuals. (The author is the sole parents' representative on this body). Conservative party councillors evidently had been convinced by the case made by officers. No strong organisational initiative emerged either in the area advisory committee or indeed in the city as a whole opposed to the principle of change. The area education officers relayed their recommendation to the schools sub-committee who duly confirmed the recommendation on the 16th March, 1982. County councillors requested that further consultations be held to resolve *which* school would provide the most suitable site for a college.

It is pertinent to speculate as to what the result of a poll would have been had the closure of a secondary school (specified or not) been incorporated into the four initial options as defined. Many parents, it seems, thought that a 6th form college could and would be set up alongside an existing secondary school or on a completely different site. It is quite possible that if school closure had been mooted as a pre-requisite for the college options then the first two options would have received more support. What would have happened if a majority had voted against the college proposals is anybody's guess but (with the benefit of hindsight) it seems likely that the county would have pressed ahead with a college plan.

(v) The second stage in the consultation process

Having agreed in principle to establish a 6th form college there remained the thorny problem of deciding which existing secondary school should be closed to make way for it. As already noted a non school site had never been seriously considered although plenty of such possibilities were advocated earlier by parents. The working party of the area advisory committee had meanwhile (actually *during* the initial consultation exercise) undertaken detailed 'feasibility' studies of the accommodation requirements of a 6th form college catering for a notional 750 students. They reviewed the available premises and facilities at each of the non-denominational secondary schools in the city. From this exercise only three schools were considered suitable for conversion to a college. Priory's location as the only state

secondary school in Southsea ruled it out. The City Boys School was deemed inappropriate as it had a dual site, and the City Girls School because the cost of conversion was thought to be prohibitively expensive. Springfield was too small and ill-equipped. Thus by a process of elimination the search focused on a short-list of King Richard, Mayfield and Great Salterns. It is probable that the area education officials had all along felt that Mayfield was the best site. They had at earlier public meetings inadvertently given the impression they favoured this school. Nonetheless to justify their statutory duty and for political reasons a second round of consultations with parents and the public was planned.

More public meetings were arranged with parents and the public. These were held at each of the three schools in question during May, 1982. (Not a timely calendar given that the World Cup Football matches were being televised at the time). Again questionnaires were distributed at meetings and to parents via their children at school. Occasional messages written on the forms suggest that at least some of them reached the homes of pupils but what happened to them thereafter is debatable. One form had written on it - 'Mum, gone swimming with Kev, see you later, Rob'. Governors and teachers at the three schools were also consulted. As can be seen in Appendix F the impact of the alternative proposals on the system and detailed guidance as to consequent changes in catchment areas accompanied the questionnaires. Respondents were asked to indicate the school they felt would be the most suitable for use as a 6th form college. Space on the reply slip was left for additional comments to be written in.

This time a greater response was forthcoming. Nearly one hundred parents refused to vote for any one school and indicated their opposition to any major change with comments such as - 'the phrasing of the paper precludes any choice of not having a sixth form college .... I regard this as a cynical public relations exercise ....'; 'let the present system continue with minor alterations'; 'I don't wish any school to close .... if there must be a college .... build one'; 'I don't know the facilities of each .... whatever public opinion feels is sure to be totally disregarded .... the faceless ones at the Castle always know what is best for the rest of us'. One parent wrote .... 'this is participation in decision making gone mad ....

the education authorities and teachers are better equipped to solve this problem, that is what they are paid for'. A variety of alternative sites for a college were suggested including sundry Portsmouth Polytechnic buildings, the Portsmouth High School, and Highbury College of Technology. A ground swell of opposition to change, and especially when it involved closing an existing school, was evident in many of these replies. 'I see this as a cynical application of the have you stopped beating your wife variety, and further by naming three schools your obvious intention is to split your opposition and force them to defend their own schools and hence cancel each other out' was the comment of yet another parent. Many Mayfield parents clearly felt that their school had already been chosen - 'the choice of Mayfield is a fait accompli .... I conclude that this paper is some kind of whitewash exercise'.

The 98 parents who took part in the exercise but refused to select a school for a college site were a small minority. The results of the overall voting in this second ballot are outlined in Figure 9.6. In part A the total votes for different schools are shown by 'family' votes and individual parents - both totals being recorded by the area office since there was no indication given on the reply slip as to whether parents should vote jointly or individually. However calculated, Mayfield came out as the favoured site for the majority of parents. Members of the public were evenly divided between Mayfield and Great Salterns, while governors of the three schools overwhelmingly preferred Mayfield including those at the school itself. Parents who declined to select a school as the site of a college did so for a number of reasons. Several stated that they did not know sufficient about the schools to make a choice and others that they had just moved to the area or were about to leave it or intended sending their children to private schools. Teachers (voting either as members of the public or parents) favoured Mayfield although polls organised in individual schools were less conclusive. Staff at King Richard were asked to rank their preferences (the only case in the entire survey of such a procedure being adopted) and the outcome clearly favoured Mayfield. 95 papers were issued to teachers in an opinion poll organised by the staff association of Mayfield School; however 67 abstained while 15 voted

for Great Salterns and 13 for their own school. Teachers in general cited the centrality, size and educational record of the Mayfield school in justification of their choice. One claimed that the vote against Mayfield was purely 'emotive and special pleading'.

One noticeable feature of the response by different sections of the community was the fact that few members of the public who were not parents, governors or teachers actually voted. Only 85 members of the public per se, voted. Thus only those who had a direct educational interest in the proceedings involved themselves to any significant level. This was in spite of the invitation to attend the public meetings being advertised in the local newspaper (mistakenly under the heading of social announcements). The general public of course did not have the benefit of having forms delivered to them via their children as parents did.

The turnout varied as between school catchment areas (Fig. 9.6(c)) from 23 per cent in the case of Mayfield (the most likely candidate) to about 5 per cent in the single-sex schools and 7 per cent in Paulsgrove and Wymering, the King Richard School catchment area. However, when comparing the turnout for different schools it should be borne in mind that the 'staying on' rate varied considerably as between schools and thus the number of parents of actual and potential sixth formers. Mayfield, and to a lesser extent Great Salterns, parents recorded their views at a higher rate than other schools and not surprisingly so since by now they were seen by many people as the two main contenders for the 6th form college site. (In the case of Mayfield the local press had for months been giving the impression that this school was the only real candidate). In contrast, Great Salterns' parents had never been led to believe their school was threatened and King Richard School, although advocated by the Portsmouth Labour party as its choice, was declared a virtual non-starter at an early stage by virtue of its peripheral location (Fig. 9.2).

On the basis of household votes, 50 per cent of parents voted for Mayfield, 36 per cent for Great Salterns and 15 per cent for King Richard. The voting figures for the different schools' catchment areas is interesting. Although over a quarter of parents

A Total Votes by Different Groups

Total household vote	2658	(M-1316,GS-948,KR-394)
Total individual vote	3031	(M-1452,GS-1129,KR-450)
Total parental household vote	2474	(M-1205,GS-896,KR-373)
Total members of the public (non-parent) vote	85	(M-36,GS-35,KR-13)

B Votes Analysed by Catchment Area (for parent households)

Catchment Area	% Voting for each school to be site of College
Mayfield	for GS-58%, for M-27%, for KR-15%
Gr. Salterns	for M-61%, for GS-25%, for KR-13%
King Richard	for M-46%, for KR-38%, for GS-16%
City Boys/Girls	for M-67%, for GS-25%, for KR-8%
Priory	for M-65%, for GS-30%, for KR-5%
Springfield	for M-67%, for GS-29%, for KR-4%

C Turnout by school catchment area (% of estimated actual and potential parent households voting)

King Richard	7%
Great Salterns	17%
Priory	5%
City Boys/Girls	5%
Mayfield	23%
Springfield	13%

D Proportion of the parent household vote for each school from different catchment areas

		from GrS	from KR	from M	from C/B&G	from P	from S
For M	1205 (49%)	23%	9%	21%	16%	11%	20%
For GS	896 (36%)	13%	4%	57%	8%	7%	11%
For KR	373 (15%)	17%	24%	45%	7%	3%	4%

E Comments given in support of preferences

for Mayfield	32% commented, of which 66% cited centrality, 39% cited accessibility, 14% cited building/facilities and 3% cited educational record.
for Great Salterns	33% commented, of these 24% cited safety/accessibility for older children, 20% cited facilities, building, parking, 18% cited non-residential location, 7% cited centrality, 5% cited scope for future expansion and 8% cited less deleterious effect on neighbourhood (than M)
for King Richard	24% commented. Points raised included buildings/facilities, school vulnerable to closure, it was wanted by the estate (Boost to area and should encourage school leavers to continue into a sixth form), KR pupils would be 'spread out' and this would improve their chances.

Figure 9.6 The results of the second ballot

Source: Area Education Office

in the Mayfield catchment area favoured Mayfield nearly 60 per cent voted for Great Salterns. Parents in *all* other catchment areas were in favour of Mayfield by substantial majorities (Fig. 9.6(B). One can conclude from this analysis that while a majority of Mayfield parents who took part in the survey preferred Great Salterns as a site for a college, elsewhere in the city as a whole, parents voted for Mayfield. It is clear that support for Great Salterns was substantially boosted by the votes of parents in the Mayfield catchment area. The distribution of support for Mayfield on the other hand was more evenly spread throughout the remaining catchment areas. King Richard School drew little support from any part of the city, although a large minority of Paulsgrove parents voted for it.

A third of parents taking part in this second stage of the consultation exercise completed the section inviting additional comments. Some parents wrote at great length. The main reasons given for Mayfield and Great Salterns are outlined in Fig. 9.6(E). Not surprisingly Mayfield was favoured because of its centrality and accessibility but parents in other parts of the city also viewed its buildings and facilities, and good educational record as advantageous. While some also thought Great Salterns was accessible especially to older, more mobile, 6th form children it was its spacious site in a non-residential area which attracted parents not least those of children attending Mayfield. The relatively few parents who voted for the King Richard School option cited the vulnerability of the school, the fact that the prospect of a 6th form college had been publicly welcomed by ward councillors and its capacious buildings as reasons. However, for the city as a whole Mayfield was the most popular choice mainly because of its central location and, to a lesser extent, its academic tradition and good reputation.

For Mayfield parents the prospect of having 'their' school disrupted (some pointed out they had moved to the Copnor area to ensure their children went to Mayfield) evidently caused a high 'turnout' in this area and contributed to the size of the vote for Great Salterns and to a lesser extent King Richard. From the comments it was also clear that some local residents feared that their amenity would be threatened - albeit by a smaller number of older children - in the form of parking congestion, noise, and anti-social behaviour.

One local resident wrote to the chairman of the area advisory committee's working party as follows - 'the proposal will turn the Mayfield area from a high rateable value neighbourhood into a car and motorcycle park'. A selection of the comments of parents is reproduced to illustrate the views, feelings and perceptions of parents on the locational choices with which they were faced (Fig. 9.7). A number of parents in the Mayfield catchment area were frank enough to explain their preferences in terms of 'anywhere but here' arguments.

(vi) Official recommendations and decisions

Having received a report containing the results of this second consultative exercise from the area education officer, the area advisory committee voted on June 21st for *Mayfield* by a large majority (20-5) as the site of a future 6th form college. The resolution was proposed by Councillor Nicholson (Chairman of Great Salterns Board of Governors) and seconded by a teachers' representative. Opposition came from a few Conservative party councillors. These included Councillors Hale and Juniper (the chairman) who had earlier, in November, 1981, faced a stormy public meeting at Mayfield School (see Fig. 9.8 for key personalities involved). Thus the committee as a whole followed the recommendations of its working party which had identified three schools as suitable candidates for the site of a 6th form college. They were also influenced in their choice by the fact that the majority of the parents in the city as a whole - at least those who responded in the consultation exercise - favoured Mayfield.

Three weeks later the schools sub-committee of Hampshire's Education Committee meeting in Winchester voted (17-3) in favour of *Great Salterns*. At this meeting neither the Portsmouth area education officer nor the chairman of the area advisory committee spoke up in favour of Portsmouth's choice, i.e. Mayfield. In defence of his actions the latter was quoted as saying 'the impression was given that public and professional opinion had been unanimously or near unanimously in favour of Mayfield but statistics proved that their opinions were only marginally in favour of that school .... we looked at Great Salterns and thought it would make an ideal American-style campus', (Portsmouth News, 15 September, 1982). County councillors of the majority party evidently taking their cue from one or two influential Portsmouth councillors opted for the public's second choice.

Comments in favour of Mayfield

'Looks as a 6th form college should.... with an imposing front' (Great Salterns parent). 'It is set in a better class of area than the other schools' (Priory parent); 'My preference is for geography to be taken into account.... the other schools are on the edge....' (City Boys School parent); 'central and easy to get to' (Mayfield parent); 'geographically Mayfield must be preferred.... it is more central while the alternatives are in the extreme north or east' (parent in Mayfield catchment area); 'It has an outstanding academic record which would be a good basis for a 6th form college' (City Boys parent).

Comments in favour of Great Salterns

'It is away from any residental area' (Great Salterns parent); 'It is accessible to 6th formers who can travel longer distances' (Mayfield parent); 'Whilst living adjacent to Mayfield I would strongly object to that choice on the grounds that adjacent streets would be saturated with students, cars and motorcycles.... creating an unacceptable death trap to young children and the elderly large numbers of whom live in the area' (Mayfield resident).

Comments in favour of King Richard

'King Richard is the least successful as a comprehensive' (Great Salterns parent); 'I settled in Copnor so that my three children could attend Mayfield School' (Mayfield parent); 'I only say K.R. to keep Mayfield a 12-16 school'; 'It is irresponsible to lose such a successful and well organised school as Mayfield'.

Figure 9.7 Reasons given for choices of schools for the site of the 6th form college

Source: Area Education Office

Councillor Juniper	Chairman of Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee Conservative county councillor for Farlington Ward Member of County Schools Sub-Committee and Hampshire Educational Committee
Mr. R. Hancock	Chairman of Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee's Working Party Chairman of Board of Governors of City Boys School Husband of the Chairman of Board of Governors of Priory School
Councillor Marshall	Leader of the Portsmouth City Council Former pupil at Mayfield Conservative City councillor for Nelson Ward
Councillor Hale	Member of Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee Conservative county and city councillor for North End ward Member of Board of Governors of Mayfield and Great Salterns School
Councillor Nicholson	Member of Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee Chairman of Governors of Great Salterns School

Figure 9.8 Key individuals involved in the 6th form issue

Several retrospective explanations of this decision were provided by those involved, and also those whose initial recommendation for Mayfield had been overturned. In his defence, Councillor Juniper stated 'closing a school requires much soul searching .... both are fine schools and the case was finely divided' (minutes of Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee meeting). What actually happened was that several members of the schools sub-committee visited Portsmouth prior to the committee's decision. They were shown the three schools and convinced by their hosts (local conservative councillors, including Juniper and Hale) of the wisdom of choosing Great Salterns. One of those involved in this successful lobbying maintained that 'on balance Great Salterns was the only logical choice .... the sub-committee visited these schools, had all the evidence available locally and made their choice on the basis of fact' (Portsmouth News, 3 September, 1982). Mrs. Gloria Bambury (the parent of a child in Great Salterns School who subsequently organised a petition objecting to the choice of that school) wrote to the local newspaper as follows - 'while allowing for difficulties of members who may have scant knowledge of the school and its position in Portsmouth we cannot understand their reasons for suddenly choosing Great Salterns for closure' (Portsmouth News,

26 October, 1982). Several letters to the editor also expressed surprise and indignation that the views of the advisory committee had been disregarded and the ballot to ascertain the views of parents and others had apparently been ignored. A Mr. O'Neill of Copnor commenting on Councillor Hale's justification of the decision wrote to the local newspaper as follows - 'according to the votes submitted by parents it is *not* their choice and this included the parents of the present and future pupils of Mayfield School who were afforded the same opportunity of voting' (Portsmouth News, 15 September, 1982).

A conservative county councillor, also a member of the schools sub-committee told a newspaper reporter - 'consultations were important but it was up to the Education Committee to make the decision. I agree Mayfield is geographically ideal for a 6th form college but older children will be able to travel longer distances than younger children' (Portsmouth News, 15 September, 1982). Councillor Marshall, Leader of Portsmouth City Council, claimed that his view that Mayfield should be retained in its present form was - 'shared by many residents and parents in the north west of the city' (Portsmouth News, 28 October, 1982). He suggested that the results of the survey did not reflect the majority view of parents and local residents.

In response to those who defended the decision to choose Great Salterns the president of the National Union of Teachers in Portsmouth who was also a member of the area advisory committee maintained that the issue had been bedevilled by the actions of local politicians, and the much publicised activities of a minority of parents living in the immediate vicinity of Mayfield had further muddied the waters. One of the advisors to the Mayfield action committee was a local clergyman who before the schools sub-committee voted was quoted as saying - 'the thought of destroying Mayfield is terrible .... it will kill the community .... I will be liaising with councillors' (Portsmouth News, 23 May). This liaison and the vociferous protests by Mayfield parents and Copnor electors in a pre-election year were arguably the key to their success. Conservative county councillors in the north of Portsea Island certainly all advocated, and voted for Great Salterns. A letter writer to the local newspaper stated: 'it is obvious that Great Salterns was chosen as a 6th form college so that councillors of the Mayfield catchment area can avoid disfavour with their electors'

(Portsmouth News, 11 August, 1982). This comment correctly focused on this political aspect of the decision.

On September 14th the county education committee formally ratified the recommendation of their schools sub-committee, and this despite sustained last minute lobbying by Great Salterns' parents. On the 29th July the city council had voted for a 6th form college 'somewhere in Portsmouth but not at Paulsgrove'. Labour party councillors argued the case for King Richard School. This was ruled out but resolutions in favour of Mayfield and Great Salterns were also defeated (8-28 and 16-17 respectively). Thus stalemate prevailed amongst city councillors - not that they had any authority over the matter. Elected representatives could not bring themselves to make or be seen to be supporting an unpopular choice in a few months before re-election (May 1983).

By this time a 'Save Great Salterns' group had been formed, 5000 leaflets had been distributed in the east of the city, and a petition with 4207 signatures been raised. It will be noted from the specimen in Appendix F, that a ward (Labour) councillor also had a part in this exercise. Parents of children at Great Salterns School who organised the petition had little difficulty in obtaining signatures on the basis of a couple of weekends' door knocking. They encountered only two refusals. A detailed dossier was compiled and presented in person at the Department of Education and Science in London. The parents' group argued that Great Salterns had a good educational and extra-curricular record, excellent community ties and that parents had been misled during the consultation exercise by being lulled into a state of false security by the fact that only Mayfield had been mentioned as a likely site for a 6th form college.

Criticism continued to be made from within official bodies as well as in the local press. At their October (1982) meeting, members of the area advisory committee made some forceful comments about the lack of leadership shown by their chairman who had voted against his committee's recommendation. The area education officer, who had chosen (or been instructed) to say nothing in defence of the Mayfield plan at the relevant school sub-committee meeting also came in for some criticism. A resolution, proposed by Councillor Nicholson expressing their surprise

and indignation that their advice (for Mayfield) had been rejected without explanation, was passed. The combined Teachers Group circulated a highly critical letter (see Appendix F). The charge of political expediency was levelled at those councillors who represented wards in the north of the city and who had, despite the public consultation result, acceded to the demands of the Mayfield parents and Copnor residents. The chairman of the county education committee defended the decision - 'I am aware that the area advisory committee, after extensive research, found that figures of opinion were marginally in favour of Mayfield but .... the decision was finely balanced .... Great Salterns is an attractive campus and older children will be able to travel to it' (Portsmouth News, 14 May, 1982).

Both statutory and non-statutory objections to the county decision were submitted under section 12(3) of the 1980 Education Act.

As already noted the organisers of the 'Save Great Salterns' campaign also visited Elizabeth House in London and were received by Under Secretary Dr. Rhodes Boyson. They reported a 'sympathetic' hearing to their plea that Great Salterns should not be closed as a secondary school. They claimed that on no occasion had the County Council advanced a clear and logical argument in favour of their decision, nor had the rationale behind it been established. Despite these protests, the Minister confirmed the decision and a 6th form college is now established on the site of Great Salterns School. It received its first intake of 350 sixth form pupils in September, 1984.

(vii) Conclusion

The comments incorporated in Fig. 9.9 of those in the city who organised, participated in or observed the public consultation over 6th form provision in the city illustrate the diversity of interpretation that can be placed upon it.

The education authority clearly had a duty to consult those affected by any proposed 6th form re-organisation. They gave overall responsibility for the mechanics of consultation to the Portsmouth area office. The local area advisory committee constituted the major channel of communication between the L.E.A. and the public and its school working party did most of the detailed background investigations.

'It is entirely possible that the final choice will coincide with the ideas currently held by the educational professionals'.

(Mayfield parent).

'It smacks of brainwashing tactics .... the county has made up its mind and people are being bamboozled into accepting it'.

(Councillor Rapson, deputy leader of the Labour Party group, Portsmouth City Council).

'Genuine consultation is taking place'.

(Mrs. Britain, area education officer).

'Consultations are important, but it was up to the education committee to make the decision'.

(member of Hampshire Education Committee).

'I challenge the democratically arrived at vote for Mayfield .... democracy implies impartiality, fairness and freedom of choice .... limiting the vote to 3 schools, with hints from the media and officialdom, is not a fair contest .... the vote indicates the strength of feeling on the part of those opposed to Mayfield'.

(letter writer).

'The consultation exercise was largely a farce'.

(letter to the local newspaper).

'I don't want to see politicians rejecting this vote .... they should not ignore the result to suit personal preferences and because it is politically expedient for them to do so'.

(letter to the local newspaper).

'I question the validity of the survey .... less than 500 responded to the first survey .... I firmly believe that the educationalists decided on Mayfield long before the public was consulted'.

(Councillor Emmerson, leader of the Labour Party group, Portsmouth City Council).

'Where were all the protesting people when the school fete was held?'.

(committee member of Mayfield PTA).

Figure 9.9 Comments on consultation over 6th form education

Source: Portsmouth Evening News

It is clear that as far as the public were concerned they were not sure if they were taking decisions or merely taking part in the process by which decisions were being made (Richardson, 1983, p.19). The major function of the consultation exercise, from the officials viewpoint, was to mobilise support for a major change in 6th form provision. The disadvantages of the status quo and a mixed system of secondary schools (some with a 6th form and some without) were stressed to governors, teachers and parents. Had this not been done and had the intended closure of an existing school be emphasized in the first round of consultation then a vote for such a radical change would not, in all probability, have been secured. As it was support for such a change was achieved with no little difficulty. The lack of concerted political opposition on the part of those representing schools with relatively large and successful 6th forms allowed this proposal to get off the ground.

The separation of the two rounds of consultation is open to varied interpretation. Was it a genuine and logical attempt to first seek the views of parents on the need for change and what sort of solutions were preferable and *then* on the locational specifics of where the 6th form college should be sited? Or was it a cynical tactic to keep opposition weak and divided? The evidence suggests a mixture of both. If the officials and Portsmouth area advisory committee members had sincerely wanted to consult people affected then a number of improvements certainly could have been made to the way it was done. The timing of polls, publicity for public meetings, contents of the ballot form and wording of background information, and method of distributing forms to parents and members of the public were all aspects of the consultation programme which are open to criticism.

The evidence supports the hypotheses that it is those who perceived their interests as being directly adversely affected who participated i.e. Mayfield parents in the second ballot and Great Salterns thereafter when their school was targeted for conversion to a 6th form college. Initially Mayfield parents, whose children would have had to transfer to another 12-16 school, objected in substantial numbers. Neighbouring residents, fearing for the amenity of their roads were keen to attend public meetings and return their reply slips to the office. Some went to a great deal of effort to write long and closely argued comments in the space provided, and indeed on the

reverse side of the forms before returning them to the area office.

Thus the end product of this rather muddled consultation by the area education office was evidence for reluctant support for a 6th form college to be located at Mayfield. During the exercise Mayfield parents and Copnor residents who lived near the school campaigned vigorously. They were not successful in tipping the consultation vote in favour of another school site for the 6th form college but managed to persuade their county councillors to pay less heed to it. Why, having gone to the trouble of consulting teachers, parents, governors and the public in Portsmouth, did county councillors not accede to the wishes of the majority? The answer lies in electoral realities. Conservative city and county councillors representing wards in the north of the city wished to show they possessed political clout, they were also concerned about the city elections in the following spring and could not bring themselves to oppose vociferous demands not to close Mayfield as a secondary school. The fact that their colleagues from elsewhere in the county on the Hampshire Schools Sub-Committee apparently took their advice and voted for Great Salterns was due to their personal influence and party cohesion. A belief that Portsmouth councillors 'knew best' also seems to have prevailed at Winchester. However, had there been a larger majority recorded in favour of Mayfield in the second ballot then they might well have followed the advice of the area advisory committee.

In one sense the decision in favour of Great Salterns over Mayfield was a reassertion of the views and authority of elected representation over officers and the teaching profession. This was in a direct contradiction to what had appeared to be the likely balance of influence at the start of the exercise. An intuitive, and essentially ward orientated assessment of public opinion over the issue was relied on by certain key councillors (Fig. 9.8). Councillors Juniper and Hale, in particular, were reluctant to accept the results of an exercise in consultation in the face of concerted albeit localised public pressure. Education officials did not intervene when it counted. They did not strenuously defend the results of a consultation programme upon which all had agreed.

This case study provides an opportunity to compare and contrast the various forms of consultation and participation which took place

over this issue during the two year period. City parents and others who took part in good faith in the officially organised and 'managed' consultation exercise preferred a 6th form college at the site of Mayfield School. Influential councillors pressurised by a well organised campaign by parents and residents associated with this school successfully hijacked the carefully laid plans of their officials. Parents with children at Great Salterns School - the new targeted site- belatedly petitioned and made statutory objections in vain. The majority of parents behaved naively, officials manipulated public opinion and some councillors treated it cynically. Some teachers and governors were disenchanted by what they saw as the 'political' motives of those who had the ultimate authority to choose a new college site. In the decision-making process the officials won the first round by successfully placing the issue on the agenda and securing an admittedly small majority for a 6th form college. The large numbers of parents of pupils at Mayfield who voted with one accord in the consultation exercise was sufficient to bring about a narrow result. Local politicians were able to use this slender majority as a justification for switching to a more vulnerable target i.e. Great Salterns where parents had not been alerted to a possible threat to their school. The minister backed up the county council's proposal and in a sense therefore sealed the victory for local Conservative party councillors. Those who argued, or thought, that the views of a majority of parents and others as expressed in an officially organised programme of consultation should prevail, were defeated. Thus the influence and connections of a few elected members of the majority party ensured that a 6th form college opened on the site of Great Salterns School in September 1984.

Boaden et al have suggested that experienced politicians and administrators may use consultation to manipulate a consent that would otherwise be withheld (p.161). This is exactly what happened in the case of the exercise mounted by officers and participated in by parents and others in Portsmouth. A contentious issue was in part defused by giving the impression of moving the locus of decision-making from Winchester to the city. The mechanics of consultation were manipulated to attain the result that officers thought from the outset was best. Only at the last minute did certain influential elected members upset the solution agreed by officers and by a

majority of parents. Although they subsequently incurred the wrath of one group of parents the school system was altered accordingly.

This case study of consultation over the creation of a new 6th form system in the city which involved the closure of one of the existing secondary schools can also be viewed from different theoretical perspectives. A political economy perspective would stress the 'trivial' nature of this educational participation in relation to the overall allocation of resources which remained firmly in favour of the status quo - thus all the private schools (buttressed by the assisted places scheme which swelled the size of their 6th forms) remained outside the debate. Also conflict over schools was imbued with class connotations - parents resisting any proposal which would force their children into schools with children who might prove a less desirable peer group. Finally, in the interests of private capital accumulation, (a lower tax burden) economies were forced in local education budgets. Thus falling school rolls was not seen as an opportunity to reduce staff-pupil ratios but as a chance to reduce spending in state schools by 'rationalising' the secondary sector in the city. That individual parents would be unlikely to participate unless the benefits outweigh the costs of so doing and that this would differ as between neighbourhoods is suggested by the public goods paradigm. Parents whose children were directly affected, i.e. were likely to say on at school for 6th form education or attended a school threatened with closure to make way for a college had a greater incentive to participate. This was borne out in the response to questionnaire surveys and attendance at public meetings. Those who were not so placed did not get involved to such an extent. Since education is a collective good it is also noted that participation, even for those families potentially affected in a negative way, was limited because those organising consultation did not persuade parents that *their* involvement was crucial. This did not happen in the Mayfield public meeting or Great Salterns petition.

As already noted educational officials and councillors (unless they had powerful and specific electoral reasons for acting to the contrary) managed participation in such a way as to minimise dissent, and legitimize the goals and policies to which they were committed. This is congruent with the managerialist thesis. Thus consultation

over 6th form provision was conducted in such a way as to divide and rule potential opposition, and constrain the choices which comprised the agenda of public involvement. Amongst other strategies which achieved this goal were the selective dissemination of information and the ambiguous presentation of any negative impacts of the proposals being made.

Locational (conflict) theory suggests that schools are perceived as being both 'salutary' and 'noxious' facilities. In Chapter VI we saw that, for example, Priory School was perceived in the latter terms by some residents of Eton Road. On the other hand proximity to a 'good' school is welcomed. For parents, it ensures an acceptable peer group for their children and a safe short daily journey to school. To residents 'nice' schools are acceptable as neighbourhood facilities. In this case changing the school system, and in particular closing a school altered the balance of perceived benefits and costs to different neighbourhoods. The pattern of response from the public to these proposals for educational change reflected fears about loss of amenity and educational disadvantage. The conflict generated in Portsmouth over 6th form education displayed many of the features of the scenario outlined by Honey and Sorenson at the outset of the chapter.

CHAPTER X

TRANSPORT : CONSULTATION OVER TRAFFIC REGULATION ORDERS

Public consultation over road proposals in British cities is a topic which has received a great deal of attention in recent years. Boaden et al (1982) have provided a succinct review of participation in transportation issues. The mechanics and outcomes of public inquiries over highways have been explored, amongst others by Kirby (1981). As we have seen two major road schemes in the city of Portsmouth in recent years have been the subject of sustained opposition - namely the North-South Road Stage III and the East-West Road. The former has recently been completed while the latter scheme was dropped following a concerted campaign by local residents (Grant, 1977). These two cases studies are briefly mentioned in Chapter V (sections (iii) and (vii)). In this chapter it is public involvement in relation to traffic regulation orders which is under the microscope. This aspect of transport has been virtually ignored in the literature (Burnett, 1985).

At first sight such orders might be deemed to be trivial but it will become apparent that some of them do significantly affect the amenity of residential areas. At stake is the value of property, the safety of young and elderly pedestrians as well as car drivers, and the general improvement or deterioration of street environments. Traffic regulation orders are of particular importance in older, densely populated residential areas which are characteristic of large tracts of Portsea Island, in the City of Portsmouth.

(i) Traffic regulation orders

Traffic regulation orders are made by Portsmouth City Council acting as agent for Hampshire County Council under Section 1-9 of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1967, as amended by the Highways Act 1980. (The Department of Transport makes orders relating to motorways and trunk roads while the direct powers of district councils cover only bylaws). An order once made is permanent and can only be revoked or changed by a further order, although under Section 9 of the 1967 Act there is provision for the experimental orders. There are several different types of orders namely those

involving no waiting, limited waiting, prohibition of through traffic, no entry, temporary closure, one way traffic, weight restrictions or prohibition of H.G.V.s, bus lanes and clearways, and speed limits. It is not uncommon for exemptions to be made in the provisions of such orders for certain vehicles such as those of disabled persons.

Traffic regulation orders are made to reduce traffic accidents; prevent the use of roads by unsuitable traffic; control the speed of vehicles; prevent congestion and obstruction of highways, and generally preserve and enhance the quality of the environment. Whether orders are initiated from within the city council itself or in response to demands by groups of residents or other organisations it is above all traffic grounds which cause such orders to be formulated. Of course each order will vary depending on the type of order being proposed and the circumstances of the traffic problems involved. Traffic engineers, whilst clear in their own minds as to the basic aims of orders, may display some ambivalence over the weight to be attached to different and potentially conflicting aims. The prime considerations as far as residents are concerned are the need for on-street parking, and the protection of their environment from unsuitable through traffic. For traders and businessmen the necessity for commercial vehicles to load and unload, and customers to be able to park are important considerations. For their part engineers are primarily concerned with the safe and efficient movement of traffic in the city.

There is a *statutory* procedure governing the making of such orders (Fig. 10.1). Every traffic or speed order must comply with this statutory procedure and failure to carry out any of the steps laid down will lay an order open to challenge in the courts. In addition, in two specific circumstances - (1) a proposed ban on loading and unloading when objections have been forthcoming, and (2) a proposed one-way traffic or no entry order when objections have been received from a bus operator, the holding of a *public enquiry* is obligatory. (Such inquiries are held by an inspector selected by the authority from a list supplied by the Secretary of State). Furthermore local councils are advised to arrange public inquiries when major traffic management schemes are proposed.

(1) Consult police.

(2) Public notice of intention to make the order to be published in at least one local paper, and the London Gazette. Consultation of other bodies as necessary. Notices to be posted in the road(s) concerned.

(3) A minimum period of 3 weeks from date of publication to allow objections. During this time the notice, draft order, plan and statement of reasons for making the order must be available for public inspection.

(4) All objections must be considered by the appropriate committee which may approve, modify, or abandon the proposals in the light of objections.

(5) Objectors advised of the decision.

(6) Once an order has been approved or modified so as to be less restrictive it is advertised, signs are erected and brought into operation. If modifications are more restrictive, the proposal has to be re-advertised and the procedure repeated.

Figure 10.1 Statutory procedure governing traffic regulation orders

Source: City Engineers Department

Legislation requires that the city council acting as agent for Hampshire County Council consult the public before making a traffic regulation order. Each year during the latter part of the 1970s the city council passed a varying number of orders as follows: 1976 - 36, 1977 - 32, 1978 - 46, 1979 - 47 and 1980 - 45. As indicated in Fig. 10.1 the council has a statutory obligation to inform those members of the public who are potentially affected about the aims, scope and likely effect of draft orders, and take account of their objections. As a matter of course they also consult widely with a variety of interested bodies. The normal process of making an order and procedures for involving the public which are commonly followed in Portsmouth are outlined in Fig. 10.2 and the approximate time scale involved in Fig. 10.3. It is evident even from a cursory examination of the information in Fig. 10.2 that procedures for informing and involving the public, and especially those being potentially affected by the proposal, are far more extensive than those laid down by statute. In Portsmouth, not only are many draft orders initiated in response to public demands for action over traffic and parking problems, but at key stages in the lengthy process the public have an

1. DEMAND FOR ACTION by groups of residents, councillors, businesses, traders, GIA residents' committees, the police or emergency services (some initiatives also arise from within the city engineer's department).

2. INVESTIGATION of the issue by engineers in the Traffic Management Section of the city engineer's department.

3. PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS with county surveyor.

4. EXPLORATORY TALKS with groups of local residents, e.g. GIA committees in roads concerned (if requested to do so by ward councillors or a major scheme is proposed).

5. PREPARATION OF PROPOSAL FOR A DRAFT ORDER and report setting out the background, aims and need for the proposed action for the Transportation Committee (Passenger Transport and Traffic Management Sub-Committee).

6. PRE-AGENDA MEETING between senior officials of the section and chairman and vice-chairman of the transportation committee.

7. RECOMMENDATION BY THE TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE that a draft order be made.

8. CONSULTATION with statutory and other interested bodies (AA, RAC, RHA, Chamber of Commerce, Trades Council, British Telecom, public utilities and emergency services).

9. NOTICE OF THE DRAFT ORDER PUBLISHED IN THE 'NEWS' with details of the measure; the names of roads affected; places and times (in the civic offices) at which the order (together with plans and statement of reasons for the proposal) can be viewed; and the deadline for written objections to be submitted.

10. DISPLAY OF SITE NOTICES at the end of, and at intermediate points in each of the roads to which the traffic measures apply. The notices contain an outline of the scope of the proposal and details of how and where to object. They are stuck to hardboard squares attached to lamp-posts.

11. PERIOD IN WHICH OBJECTIONS ARE RECEIVED generally 3 weeks. Informal discussions and explanations are held with those inspecting the plans in the civic offices. Written objections including grounds for objection are received including those submitted marginally beyond the deadline. Some objections are withdrawn after clarification by officials. An informal local hearing may be heard at the discretion of the council.

12. PREPARATION OF A REPORT ON THE DRAFT ORDER FOR THE TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE setting out the objectives of the proposal; the number and substance of objections, and by whom they have been made, comments on the merits and demerits of the objections, and a recommendation to confirm the order as advertised, in whole or parts thereof, or as amended.

13. MEETING OF TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE to recommend that the order be made. Prior to this meeting, details of objections including copies of actual letters and petitions, a summary of grounds for objections, and comments by city engineers are sent to each member of the committee (since 1983 to all ward councillors). These meetings are open to the public and deputations of objectors are permitted to speak (for 10 minutes) at the discretion - invariably given - of the chairman.

14. The city council must hold a *local public inquiry* if they wish to proceed with an order where objections have been made and not withdrawn against a proposed ban on loading and unloading or where a bus operator objects to a one-way system or road closure.

15. CITY COUNCIL CONFIRMATION OF THE ORDER (Details of the draft order and objections to it, and comments are included in an appendix to the council's agenda).

16. OBJECTORS ARE NOTIFIED IN WRITING of the council's decision.

17. CONFIRMATION of the order by Hampshire County Council (see Standard form of consultation).

18. Notice of the order placed in the News.

19. Objectors may challenge the order in the High Court within a specified time.

20. ORDER IMPLEMENTED in whole or part.

N.B. The director of engineering now has delegated powers to implement orders where no objections have been made without going through the council and transportation committee for a second time.

Figure 10.2 Stages in making a traffic regulation order in Portsmouth

Source: City Engineers Department

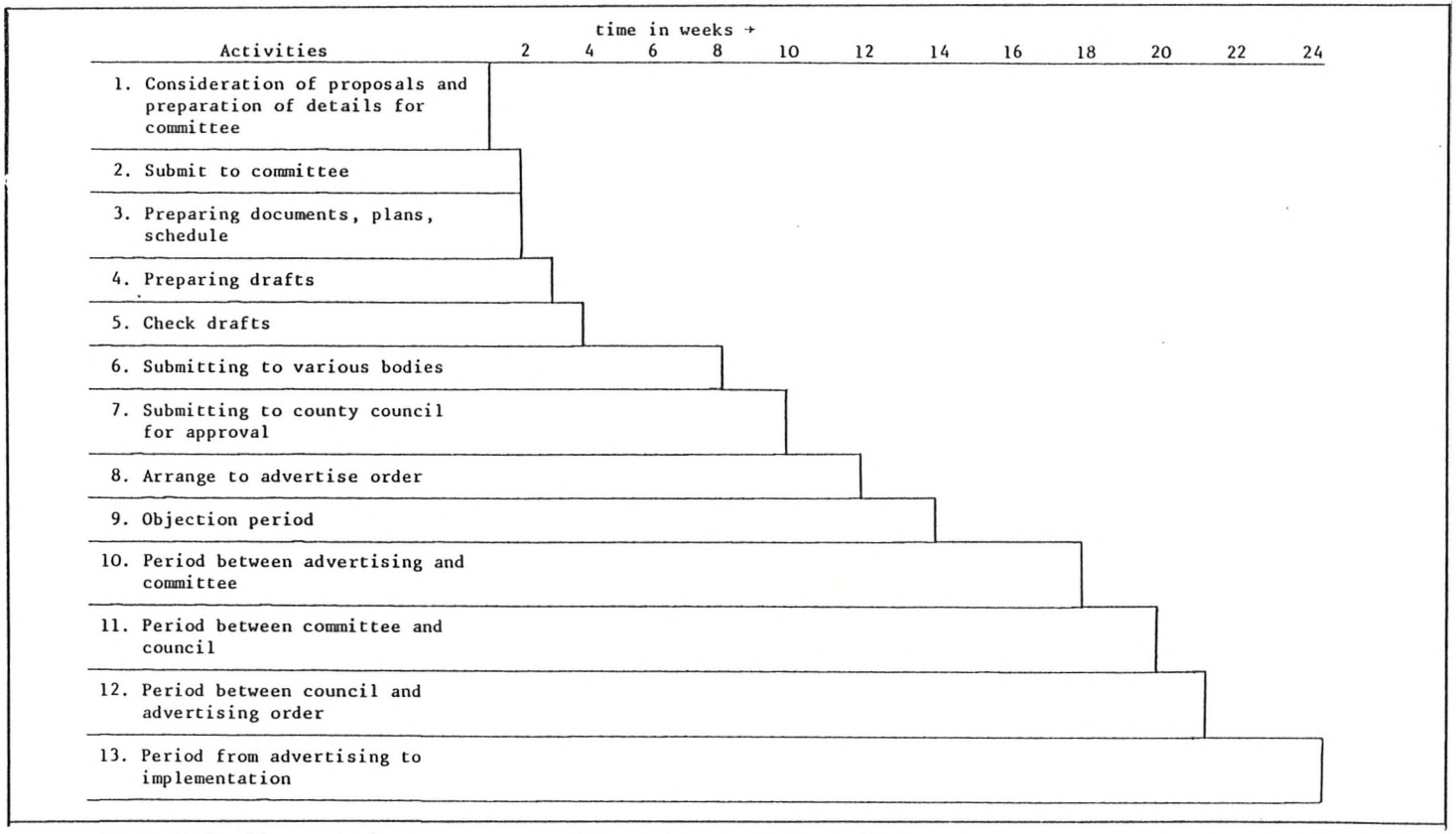


Figure 10.3 Time scale in the process of making traffic regulation orders

Source: City Engineers Department

opportunity to object to (and support) a draft order. Their objections and grounds for them, are made available in writing to councillors before decisions are made in committee and at council meetings. They also have an opportunity to discuss draft orders directly with the professional officers concerned and, if not satisfied, to contact their ward councillors. They can also make their views known at such local hearings and public meetings that are held; and by means of official questionnaires, when they are used. They may appeal to the High Court. Other informal tactics are also used by objectors such as petitions and deputations.

This chapter examines the scope and impact of involvement by the public in relation to traffic regulation orders. As in other chapters in part II patterns of participation, the issues involved, the role of officers and councillors, outcomes and the functions of consultation are explored. It also seeks to provide answers to several specific questions: how often, and under what circumstances, do pleas for orders come from the public? Is public acceptance of or opposition to traffic regulations a significant factor in influencing decisions taken by the city's transportation committee and council? What weight is attached to the views of the police and motoring organisations? What is the response of the local authority when groups of residents disagree about the desirability or otherwise of a particular order? What reasons are given by the public when they object to orders, and who are these objectors, and where do they live? What criteria and rules govern the formulation of orders by officials? Finally, what proportion of orders are amended, withdrawn altogether, or only partially implemented as a result of opposition on behalf of those potentially affected?

To shed light on these questions the extent of public consultation in making of traffic regulation orders during a two-year period was analysed. During 1977 and 1978 a total of 78 orders were made. (Orders initiated in 1976 though completed in 1977 were excluded; all orders initiated in 1978 were included even if they were not implemented until after December 1978). During these two years there were over twenty orders for a prohibition of waiting only, affecting 105 roads; orders incorporating both prohibition and restriction of waiting (29 roads); temporary orders (8 roads); two orders prohibiting commercial vehicles over 3 tons (67 roads); orders comprised multiple regulations

(49 roads); and more than twenty orders regulating the flow of traffic - one way, prohibition of driving, no entry (69 roads).

The pattern of streets covered by these orders is given in Fig. 10.4. It can be seen that orders are concentrated in the inner city, especially in and around the main shopping centres and roads where buses, private cars and pedestrians compete for space. The other major type of locale for orders are the neighbourhoods which were declared as G.I.A.s during the mid-1970s (see Fig. 7.1). In Chapter VII mention was made of improvement schemes incorporating traffic management schemes which were worked out by traffic engineers in conjunction with residents' committees.

(ii) The public as instigators of traffic regulation orders

It is apparent that the public plays an important role in demanding traffic orders. In Appendix G it can be seen that no less than 17 orders are known to have been initiated in response to groups of residents complaining to the council about traffic problems. In other cases the initiative came from within the council, for example, when refuse collection vehicles were having difficulties in negotiating narrow, congested roads. In other cases major plans and actions of the local authority, such as those involving the relocation of the Isle of Wight ferry port in Old Portsmouth, and the creating of a pedestrian precinct in Southsea, stimulated draft orders. Nonetheless complaints and demands by local residents were one of the main catalysts for traffic problems being highlighted. Numerous letters from the public were to be found in the in-trays of traffic engineers in the city engineer's department (see Appendix G).

In seven cases it was G.I.A. residents' committees which demanded traffic management schemes as part of environmental improvements. In Stamshaw, Fratton, and parts of Southsea proposals involving one-way streets, prohibition and restricting of parking and road closures were agreed by residents' committees in consultation with municipal engineers and planners and ward councillors. Elsewhere groups of residents organised petitions, public meetings, working parties and wrote individual letters to try to persuade those in authority to take action. Thus in the case of the order to prohibit parking in parts of Hamilton Road the proposal was initiated as a result of representations

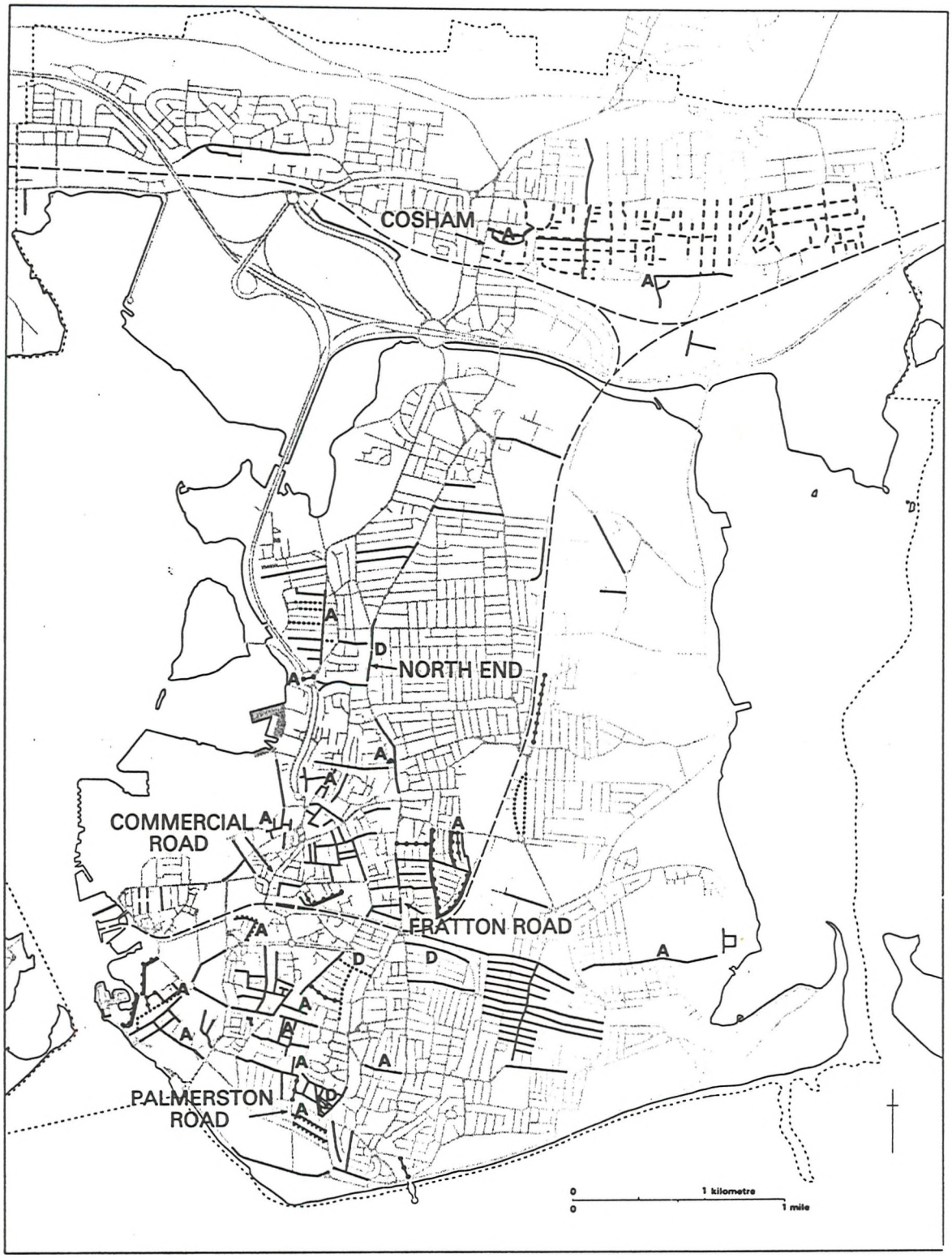


Figure 10.4 The pattern of traffic regulation orders during 1977 and 1978

Source: City Engineers Department

from a residents' group. In Lennox Road North (order 34/77) the proposal was initiated as a result of concern expressed by residents of Stanley Street. In the Baileys Road area of Southsea a petition demanding action to reduce the volume of through traffic was organised by St. Thomas' branch of the Labour party, and attracted 262 signatures.

Through traffic problems were put 'on the agenda' as a result of complaints and demands on the part of the public, this was no guarantee, of course, that they would be converted into draft orders. Certainly formal responses were made to all written complaints from individuals, and demands made by neighbourhood organisations or groups of residents were normally investigated by traffic engineers. It was not uncommon for those problems which affected several streets to be processed by way of traffic surveys, and working parties (comprising councillors, residents, local traders and the police). Furthermore, site visits, and informal discussion with ward councillors and those who had brought the issue to the attention of the city engineer's department were often undertaken. In addition, as indicated in Fig. 10.2, consultations over specific issues were carried out with motoring organisations as well as other public and private bodies.

At this stage the principal traffic engineer and his colleagues decided whether or not they should make a recommendation to the transportation committee that a draft order be made. This decision was based on the perceived seriousness of the problem as indicated by consultations, and the feasibility and likely acceptability to residents of an order, as well as the actual need for the proposal in terms of traffic management. Questions of timing and cost were also taken into account, and in addition, the views of ward councillors. For example, during 1978 a petition from residents in Chesterfield Road (Copnor) was received requesting that a one-way system be introduced to reduce congestion, noise and danger. Following this demand, a survey of traffic movements in this and surrounding roads was undertaken and the city engineer concluded -

> 'The roads are not heavily trafficked and are already covered by a prohibition of commercial vehicles over 3 tons .... a one-way system would be costly and unnecessary in view of the inconvenience likely to be caused to residents in other roads, it may also encourage drivers to increase speeds ....

on balance it is considered that existing conditions in Chesterfield Road are not sufficiently dangerous to warrant a traffic management scheme'.

(Traffic engineers report).

The committee subsequently decided that no action should be taken. The initial report and recommendation of the city engineer was a crucial factor in determining if, and how, demands by local residents and others were converted into draft orders. The officials involved, however, did take the consultation process seriously. In part this was due to the need for the smooth implementation of the schemes. Unlike plans for development, redevelopment or renovation, traffic orders can be revoked or changed relatively easily. If individual councillors, of the relevant committee were faced with a succession of protests after the schemes had been put into practice, this would create real problems for traffic engineers and other officials. Adequate consultation at this early stage was in a sense, therefore, a pre-requisite for the smooth passage of an order and its eventual implementation.

(iii) Traffic regulation draft order proposals

The first stage in formulating an order was for the city engineer to place a proposal for a draft order on the agenda of the transportation committee. (In fact the passenger transport and traffic management sub-committee which will be referred to as the transportation committee in this chapter). Prior to doing so he would have prepared a detailed report incorporating the outcomes of investigations and discussion within his own department as well as consultations with the county surveyor and police. By this stage, particularly if the scheme proposed was a major one, the issue would have also been discussed with local residents and interested bodies. There would also have been a pre-agenda meeting with the chairman and vice-chairman of the transportation committee. It was not unheard of for a proposal to be withdrawn at this stage, i.e. before it reached the committee as a result of the intervention of the chairman or his deputy. Why was such a meeting held?

'One of the main reasons for the pre-agenda meeting is to prevent the committee from rejecting the recommendation of the director of engineering from happening too often'.

(Personal communication from the Senior Traffic Engineer, Portsmouth Engineer's Department).

At its meetings held at six weekly intervals the committee had to decide either to agree to a proposal becoming a draft order or not. Occasionally the ward councillors intervened and halted its progress because they thought it unnecessary or unlikely to be acceptable. For example, during 1978 a proposal was presented to control parking on Eastern and Langstone Roads (Milton) following complaints made by local residents of danger created by indiscriminate parking when Pompey were playing at home at nearby Fratton Park. However, two ward councillors spoke at the committee meeting indicating that in their view the proposal was too expensive for a problem which occured only once a fortnight during the season. The committee resolved that the city engineer should reappraise the situation in the light of the comments of ward councillors, and that no draft order be made.

In some instances traffic issues were raised in committee and further official investigation was deemed to be necessary. For example, in 1978 a petition had been received from the parents of children at Buckland First School which demanded that through traffic be restricted on Gamble and Malins Roads. The city engineer was asked to investigate and report back at a future meeting. Another petition for a prohibition of waiting outside a school in Southsea was deferred until a G.I.A. residents' committee had been set up in the locality.

It would be misleading however to gain the impression that the committee was simply a rubber stamp for recommendations made by their professional staff. These recommendations were primarily based on survey material and technical considerations together with comments from those consulted at this early stage. Frequently the grounds for a proposal were discussed at length before a decision was taken. For example, in 1978 local residents in Landport complained about unrestricting parking causing noise, disturbance, and difficulty in finding parking spaces close to their homes. The city engineer's report was couched in terms suggesting a degree of ambivalence -

> 'a prohibition of waiting order could not be justified on traffic grounds .... while environmental grounds could be a consideration it would be setting a precedent to introduce a prohibition of waiting purely on such grounds .... some traffic regulation orders were implemented to improve the environment of residential areas so this would not be so significant a departure from current practice .... this could lead to calls for similar action in other areas'.

In this case rather than making any firm recommendation a request to hear the views of the committee on the matter was solicited. Clearly this scenario applied to cases in which technical considerations were inconclusive, and proposals might be politically sensitive.

(iv) Objecting to draft orders

Having this far been involved in the generation of some proposals for public action the public now had a chance to object. Under the statutory procedures outlined in Fig. 10.1, a draft order must by law be advertised in the press and in the roads concerned. This publicity to include the main elements of the order itself and details of to whom, where and when to object (Appendix G). These procedures involving press publicity and site notices were scrupulously observed because failure to do so would have left the city council vulnerable to an appeal to the High Court or complaint to the local Ombudsman. This dual method of publicity was reasonably effective since many site notices are placed prominently in the streets concerned and therefore easily seen by at least pedestrians. As shown in Chapter V many people also read the public notices section of the local press.

Although Portsmouth City Council allowed three weeks for objections they did not necessarily rule out those which are received marginally late, and indeed have been known to accept them right up to the date of the relevant committee meeting. In addition, individuals who telephoned, wrote or called at the civic offices in person to scrutinise the detailed plans and maps provided were generally seen or spoken to by officials if any points of clarification were needed. In some cases potential and actual objections were withdrawn following these discussions. No formal public hearings or public inquiries were held during the two year period 1977-78 but on a number of occasions city engineers did attend public meetings or G.I.A. residents' committee meetings to explain draft orders.

Basic information on the origin, scale and nature of objections is provided inter alia in Appendix G. There were no written objections to or letters of support in the case of a substantial number of draft orders (31 orders covering a total of 67 roads). A majority of draft orders (60 per cent) were *opposed* (by local residents, traders, businesses or other organisations). There were no or few objections

to certain *types* of draft orders notably the eight *temporary* traffic regulations and orders affecting roads in *non residential* locations, for example, Stanhope Road (order 33/77), Slindon Street/Lower Pelham Path (order 33/77), Portsdown Hill Road (order 2/78), North Harbour Road (order 19/78), and Clarence Esplanade (order 31/78). It is presumed that traders and businessmen with premises adjoining these roads did not feel their interests threatened by such restrictions on parking, and commercial and private vehicle road users felt likewise or did not have an opportunity to see or at least read the relevant site notices. The sort of draft order which was overtly *welcomed* (in Farlington and Drayton) was the prohibition of commercial vehicles over 3 tons. Residents in these suburban districts clearly felt that such regulations would enhance their amenity by lessening noise, vibration and pressure on parking. Indeed the only objection to one order affecting 48 roads in the north east of the city was a petition from two roads, which had been excluded from the order, demanding that they should be included.

An analysis of objections shows that it was groups of residents and individual local traders who, presumably being directly affected by the proposed schemes, were the major sources of opposition to draft orders. 23 draft orders were opposed by commercial interests and 31 by groups of residents living in the roads to be affected by the proposals. In one case (order 40/78 - the King Street area), a petition was submitted, but only 10 of the signatures belonged to local residents with the great majority being patrons of the public house whose landlord objected to the parking restrictions. Not surprisingly very few of the organisations which had previously been consulted objected at this stage. At this point reservations were expressed by such bodies as the local Automobile Association and Road Haulage Association on only two occasions.

In 12 cases petitions were submitted. In the case of the one-way traffic scheme for Baffins and Milton Roads (order 41/78) a petition with 85 signatures had been presented by objectors even before the draft order had been officially published. In Villiers Road evidence of both support and opposition to the proposed one-way scheme was presented in the form of two separate petitions. Elsewhere, for example, in response to the prohibition of waiting draft order in Pelham, Yarborough, Worsley and St. Edmond's Roads (Southsea), individual letters of objection *and* a petition were sent. Whilst most petitions

came from residents their was also one case of traders using this particular form of protest, (order 17/77).

(v) Reasons for objecting

From the letters submitted to the city council we can discern the probable motives as well as see the stated reasons for objections. As far as commercial organisations were concerned objections were primarily based on putative loss of trade resulting from the implementation of an order. In particular shopkeepers, publicans and hoteliers saw prohibition or restriction of parking outside and near their premises as likely to deter potential customers, particularly those passing by rather than living locally. Graphic portrayals of trade being crippled by parking restrictions were commonplace in the letters sent by shopkeepers in Winter Road and the Albert Road in Southsea. Some representations were more restrained in their style, one stating that 'there would be a deleterious effect on the operation of retailing'. Publicans and club managers also feared that their regulars would be inconvenienced. The solicitor representing Mr. Ho in Kingston Road stated that his main anxiety was the affect the proposals would have on his carry-out premises. Captain Bateman, secretary of the Royal Naval Club and Royal Albert Yacht Club, (who incidentally was one of the few objectors to appear in person at a committee meeting) pointed out that in his view the general city interests would be best served by abandonment of the proposed parking limitation outside his club in Old Portsmouth.

Objections were also raised by those operating or owning businesses whose activities would be adversely affected by restrictions on loading and unloading. In particular, stores in London Road (North End) vigorously (and successfully) opposed a bus clearway which they feared would have affected their operations. Some commercial organisations clearly resented draft orders because they felt that their businesses were being penalised by a council to which they felt they contributed handsomely by way of heavy rates. Such draft orders were deemed by them to be costly and unnecessary. The timing of one particular order (42/77) reducing parking in streets in Landport near to the Commercial Road shopping centre seems to have annoyed traders there because it was approved just before the busy Christmas shopping period. In a few

cases employers clearly felt they were protecting the interests of their workforce in objecting. For example, Whitbreads Ltd. objected to a residents-only parking scheme in Portsea because they said it took no account of those working in the area. They argued that they already permanently rented 87 spaces in a commercial car park and felt hard done by if they lost 72 spaces in streets close to the brewery. Likewise when prohibition of waiting was suggested in an order for Allaway Avenue and Bourne Roads in Paulsgrove it was not only the local branch of the trade union representing 53 workers at a city depot nearby who objected, but also the Director of Housing on behalf of the management and maintenance staff of the estate's housing office. A final example of concern for employees is seen in the objections that were received from the matron of a children's home in Yarborough Road, Southsea (order 8/77). She stated that in her opinion parking prohibitions would cause problems to social workers, parents and residential staff.

In contrast to the above, objections from residents were mainly based on amenity considerations. Many letters contained reference to the personal inconvenience and possible increase in vandalism which would result if parking spaces outside or near residents' houses were removed by an order. Reference was made to 'the possible unpleasantness which would be caused by having to park in front of other people's houses' (order 15/78); 'the inconvenience of having to travel increased distances to go around a one-way system to get home' (order 20/78). Other residents feared that whoever might be the beneficiaries of the draft order being proposed it was their street which would suffer. Thus householders in Havant Road, Manor Way, and Grove Road in Farlington (order 14/78) pleaded that they be included in the zone in which heavy vehicles were to be banned so that they too could avoid heavy traffic, noise, pollution, danger to property and school children. St. David's Road residents were afraid that the proposed traffic scheme affecting their neighbouring roads (order 40/77) would increase congestion, accidents and environmental stress for them. Several objectors pointed out that in their view the effect of the draft order would be merely to move the problem to other areas - the 'cascade effect' as it was termed by a resident in Yarborough Road. Some objectors questioned the *need* for a draft order in the first place and others the right and

representativeness of those members of the public or organisations, who had initially supported it, to speak on behalf of local people. The right of residents' committees in G.I.A.s to represent the views of local traders, and indeed local residents, was questioned in Fratton and Southsea. Support for a prohibition of parking in Hamilton Road by a self-styled residents' association represented, it was claimed by a local garage proprietor, merely the whims of a few individuals. It appears that conflict was endemic in some issues and being consulted in this way exacerbated the situation.

Some objectors drew attention to the fact that no traffic accidents had occurred in the area as evidence that there was no need for an order to be made. An objector in Yarborough Road stated that he thought the current proposals were drafted as a result of complaints from residents which were no longer valid. 'Nine months ago parked cars in Worsley Road prevented refuse from being collected but since then parking restrictions have cleared up the end of Worsley Road and now waste can be collected .... a solution is being proposed for a problem which does not exist'. Some objectors claimed that while there was a need for some action to be taken by the council what was proposed in the draft order was not the best solution available. For example, the single objector to the one-way traffic proposal for Oyster and St. Thomas Streets in Old Portsmouth sent two elegant sketches with his letter, including one which was entitled 'a less dangerous amendment'. In contrast, far less constructive sentiments characterised other letters, for example, comments such as: 'a flagrant breach of democracy', 'a complete disregard for the need of residents and lack of consultation' (order 38/78). This last comment would seem to have been somewhat gratuitous given the scope for public intervention at several stages of the process.

(vi) The role of traffic engineers

Before the transportation committee met to recommend to the city council whether or not a draft order should be made (or indeed amended in part, or its implementation delayed), each councillor was provided with a report comprising the history and aims of the draft order, a summary of the main points of objection together with copies of actual letters and petitions, a technical answer to these points and, finally, a recommendation. Two crucial questions have to be answered in relation

to this vital stage in the process - (1) were any or all of the amendments, delays or deletions eventually decided by the committee in line with the recommendations of officials and (2) what were the factors which influenced traffic engineers in drawing up their recommendations, in particular, were the number and nature of public objections (and support) significant?

The first question is easily answered. With only two notable exceptions (which will be discussed below), changes made in the draft orders were all in line with the views and recommendations expressed by traffic engineers in their reports. In other words, when an amendment to a draft order was recommended - often in response to objections - the committee and the council (with only two exceptions) ratified the draft orders as modified. This is not to say that councillors slavishly followed their officers but rather that by now they, as elected representatives, were satisfied that the draft orders were acceptable and beneficial. While their own personal views, and any pressure exerted on them counted for something, nonetheless it was detailed professional advice which constituted the most significant influence in their decision-making.

From the evidence of the minutes of committee meetings and reports submitted it is possible to ascertain how and why traffic engineers made their recommendations. First, the sheer number of draft orders which were amended (22 out of 78) suggests that the opinions and arguments of objectors were important in the process. It should be noted however that in many of these 22 draft orders the concessions made to objectors were relatively minor, merely involving changes in the area or time covered by parking restrictions and prohibitions. Compromises were therefore acceptable provided that the basic aims and objectives of the order were maintained. In relation to order 17/78, for example, the report to the committee stated -

> 'no waiting on Locksway Road though desirable is not essential at the current time for, as objectors point out, little obstruction is caused to buses .... therefore we recommend that this part of the order be not implemented yet, but if the passenger transport department or the police report difficulties then the committee, if it thinks fit, may approve a date for implementation'.

In another case (order 7/78) Magdala Road, was excepted from prohibition of waiting in response to nine objections and in Worsley Road and Auckland Road East important modifications were permitted which reflected the expressed wishes of local residents. Demands made on behalf of companies were also accepted - 'we thought that the firm would have welcomed a prohibition of waiting outside their premises to prevent obstruction but as this is not so the city engineer considers that the order could be amended except where this would permit parking on both sides of the road' (order 3/78). In relation to the Baffins Road/Milton Road one-way system (order 41/78) the report noted the 'strong reaction from Baffins Road residents despite the fact that they may be at risk because of the problem'. Thus whatever their misgivings as to the validity of some objections, officials were prepared to concede that they were strongly felt, and their recommendations were accordingly concilliatory. Likewise officers were prepared to take on board points made by ward councillors when they intervened in support of objectors. For example, in deleting parking prohibitions in a section of the Albert Road (order 36/77), and outside the Royal Yacht Club following the personal intervention of Captain Bateman, officers were demonstrating their flexibility.

As a corollary of this finding there is also evidence that some objections were overruled either because they clashed with the basic aim of the order and what were considered sound traffic principles or did not reflect the wishes of what was considered to be a legitimate body of support for the proposal. Thus in the case of order 38/78, traffic engineers stated they 'considered that although there may be drawbacks with this proposal it is on balance justified because of the overriding need to improve road safety'. Similarly in relation to a draft order banning parking from junctions of roads in central Southsea the city engineer recommended making the order because - 'although it is acknowledged that some reduction of street parking for residents is entailed it has been kept to a minimum; and standards of access, visibility, and safety should take priority over the needs of parking'. (A working party comprising local councillors, traders and the police had also supported the scheme).

All draft orders which had the support of G.I.A. residents' committees were backed by officials, apart from a traffic management

scheme supported in 1977 by only one of three G.I.A. committees in Fratton and which was actively opposed by a substantial number of residents and traders. In this case the official recommendation was, that in view of the large number of objections, the draft order be deferred to enable further discussions to take place. In G.I.A. 4, despite a petition with 522 signatures (10 local) and an animated public meeting the original order was recommended because the G.I.A. residents' committee was said to represent the people living in the area, it was assumed that those residents who did not sign the petition either did not wish to sign it or were not canvassed. Later in 1978 the revised scheme for Fratton was approved because of the 'overwhelming support of the G.I.A. committees'. Objections were overruled because 'a great deal of time has been spent on ensuring that the wishes of local residents have been taken into account when drawing up the scheme for this area'.

In yet other cases conflicting criteria for traffic regulation and apparently incompatible interests of residents, bus users and traders clearly made for difficulties in recommending a particular course of action. Thus in the case of the Clarendon Road bus clearway, reservations expressed by the police and some inconvenience in loading and unloading was outweighed by the need to protect the interests of pedestrians and bus passengers. In some cases further consultation was felt to be necessary but more frequently officials indicated that they felt confident that discussions with residents had resolved outstanding difficulties.

Finally there were instances when, however much they would have wished to acquiesce to the demands of objectors, the city engineers maintained that they were unable to do so. For example, they argued that Old Manor Road and Grove Road in Drayton could not be included in the prohibition of commercial vehicles of over 3 tons zone until after alternative measures of access to an industrial estate had been provided.

Cases where residents were clearly divided presented particular difficulties. In one case, in order 37/78, in which a one-way system was proposed for Auckland Road, it was recommended that only the prohibition of waiting should be retained. A second case involving a similar scheme in Villiers Road nearby was also to be amended but

at the committee meeting a second petition was received and with the support of a ward councillor the original draft order was rejected.

In such cases, considerable ambivalence was displayed by officers in their recommendations. Whether or not such draft orders were amended depended on the councillors concerned rather than what was recommended by officials.

(vii) Authoritative decisions and the implementation of orders

Very few recommendations by the city engineer to the transportation committee and to the city council were overturned during 1977 and 1978. These two bodies therefore as well as Hampshire County Council might be thought to be merely rubber stamping recommendations made by professional officers. But for two reasons this interpretation is misleading. First because, as has been shown, the recommendations of officers often incorporated the wishes of objectors, and secondly members had been reassured during the often lengthy discussions prior to and in committee that schemes were necessary, viable and more or less acceptable. Had such full consultation not preceded these recommendations then it is unlikely that elected representatives would have been so compliant.

Another important element in the situation was the fact that the views of ward councillors had also been sought by the transportation committee. For example, in the exclusion of Dorking and Magdala Roads from draft order 7/78 it was the ward councillors who urged that the proposals for these roads be relaxed so that inconvenience to residents be minimized. Likewise ward councillors expressed concern as regards the adverse effects on the trade of a fancy dress hire shop in the Albert Road, Southsea, if proposed parking restrictions were implemented. In the case of the proposed one-way system in Milton (order 4/78) local councillors had done their homework and reported that their extensive enquiries in the area had indicated that only in Milton Road were a majority of residents in favour of the scheme. In a bitterly contested draft order affecting parking in Old Commercial Road, residents allied themselves with the Charles Dickens Fellowship against the owners and landlord of the Oliver Twist public house. In its deliberations the committee noted that, in addition to the weight given to letters and

and representations from the public, two ward councillors has spoken in favour of the draft order. Similarly in the debate over parking in Landport - 'the committee considered all points raised and listened to the views of ward councillors who had reminded members of the conflicting interests of residents and traders'. In this case after a full debate the draft order was agreed. Thus it was not only traffic engineers but also ward councillors who tried to ensure that traffic regulation orders were acceptable to at least a majority of local residents.

The city council only twice overturned its committee's recommendations. On one occasion part of the proposed one-way system in Auckland Road East which had been deleted in committee was reinstated following the intervention of a senior majority party ward councillor who, armed with a counter petition, convinced his colleagues to vote for the order as originally framed. Clearly, he was acting in his role as a reflector of at least one side of public opinion in the area. In the second case businessmen in the North End shopping centre persuaded the city council to reject the proposal to designate a bus clearway at peak hours (thereby restricting loading/unloading and waiting). This decision followed a vociferous campaign in the local newspaper. Managers and owners of businesses, acting in concert, successfully pleaded that the future of the North End shopping centre would be seriously threatened should the order go ahead.

Despite being consulted formally at several stages in the process of making orders by means of the standard form of consultation (Appendix G) there is no evidence that officials or councillors of Hampshire County Council intervened in any material way. The county secretary did not issue a single 'stop notice' on any draft order. This attests to the substantial degree of autonomy enjoyed by the city in this particular aspect of transport planning and decision making.

Following the transportation committee's recommendation that an order be made objectors were notified in writing of the decision and, when appropriate, reasons why their objections had been overruled. The actual implementation of some orders was delayed to fit into major developments. For example, parking restrictions surrounding both the Commercial Road and Palmerston Road shopping centres were delayed

until major car park schemes had been completed and were opened to the public. Except for three cases, yellow lines and road traffic signs appeared on the designated roads within a matter of weeks as personnel and resources were available (Fig. 10.3). In a few cases there were minor hiccups in the physical implementation of orders. In Fratton, for example, the erection of temporary barriers stirred up certain residents and traders - who had been opposed to the road closures all along - sufficiently to make renewed demands for the order to be rescinded. In Landport local residents protested when yellow lines appeared on their customary parking streets. However, the opportunity to modify or revoke these orders had long since passed. No member of the public availed himself or herself of the opportunity to appeal against an order to the High Court. There was one half hearted attempt to take the city council to the local ombudsman for maladministration. The Fratton resident in question argued that insufficient detail had been included on the site notice to adequately indicate on which parts of his road parking was to be forbidden. In the end no formal complaint was made.

(viii) Conclusion

The public have a statutory right to be consulted in the making of traffic regulation orders. The lengthy process of consultation practised by Portsmouth affords potentially affected residents, and others, not just one, but *several* opportunities to express their views. The continuous nature of this consultation was not dissimilar to that characteristic of G.I.A. schemes analysed in Chapter VI. While affected residents had no veto over traffic regulations their support and opposition was certainly taken seriously especially if emanating from G.I.A. residents' committees. In the two year period studied the initiative for traffic management schemes came in the first instance either from within the city engineer's department, or from groups of residents, including G.I.A. residents' committees. In cases where few or no residents were potentially affected by orders prohibiting or restricting waiting, and in non-residential areas, initial consultations with the county council and the police were pursued as a matter of course. However, in cases which might have a significant impact - both beneficial and negative - informal investigations were

invariably carried out at an early stage by way of public meetings with residents, working parties, and traffic surveys. Demands from the public for action were not always acceded to by the city engineers but a substantial number of traffic orders were initiated as a result of complaints. Because many draft traffic orders had the backing of established groups of residents, especially G.I.A. residents' committees, and there had been ample consultation from the start, subsequent opposition was muted and limited in all but a few cases.

The traffic engineers were prepared to compromise over the minor details of their draft orders, i.e. amend sections of them; delay their implementation; and monitor their impact in response to objections. Nevertheless, they rarely recommended that a draft order should be deleted in its entirety. Members of the transportation committee of the city council, who were kept in the picture as to the extent and grounds for objections, almost invariably took the professional advice of their officials. Only in cases where substantial opposition existed based on grounds which were conceived of as being valid, did engineers alter their recommendations and councillors their decisions at committee or at the meetings of the full council.

Some changes were made, however, despite the fact that officials clearly perceived their draft order as intrinsically well conceived and necessary. It was often those draft orders which residents were divided over and which were opposed by a sizeable number of local people (as expressed in letters of objection, petitions or representations by ward councillors) which were amended or deleted. Clearly there were some traffic and parking problems in the city for which any solution would generate opposition. These were generally not initiated. Specifically there were two reasons why not all traffic problems stimulated proposals for draft orders. First, when officials considered that alternative courses of public action were more appropriate, for example, the more rigorous enforcement of existing regulations, and secondly when any sort of draft order was bound to stir up intense local opposition.

Threats to access and amenity clearly motivated residents' objections to draft traffic regulation orders. Stated grounds for objection in many cases involved either the loss of parking spaces

outside or near to homes and an increase in the volume and speed of traffic in residential areas. Although traffic engineers were not sympathetic to the need for on-street parking when it threatened the flow of traffic or road safety, they did however place a high premium on amenity considerations. Indeed several orders - especially in G.I.A.s - were specifically aimed at reducing through traffic with all its associated problems. In the several cases where traffic schemes were strongly supported by residents but were opposed by traders and businesses, for example, Old Commercial Road (order 50/78), the Portsea parking scheme (order 15/77), in King Street area (order 40/78) and at Hamilton Road (order 3/77), the views of the residents were considered as perfectly legitimate. In these cases their interests therefore prevailed. Councillors and engineers however took seriously the fears expressed by those involved with businesses and commercial interests that their trade would be adversely affected by prohibition or restrictions on parking. In several cases draft orders were modified to meet some, if not all, of their objections.

To summarize then, no traffic regulation orders which affected residential areas were made in the face of substantial opposition by local residents unless support for them had previously been expressed by bodies like G.I.A. residents' committees. Draft orders were amended in minor ways in response to objections which were either substantial in number or deemed to have special merit. An example of the latter was the request for a reserved parking space for a doctor. Draft orders were rarely altered in such a way as to defeat the overall purpose of the proposal. It is difficult to see how the process of consultation in the making of such orders as statutorily required, and more important, as actually operated in the city, could be improved. Despite the publicity there were occasions when apparently local people did not see the relevant public notice in the local newspaper or understand the site notices and there were a few instances of protests occurring when yellow lines started to be painted. (For examples of reports of such incidents see Appendix G). However, in the two year period many objectors did make their views known at the appropriate occasions and had their grounds for objection brought to the attention of elected representatives. It seems that traffic regulation orders were made in Portsmouth with the apparent consent of at least the majority of those affected.

As far as local residents were concerned fears about a deterioration in amenity clearly generated demands for action. G.I.A. residents' committees took the initiative in trying to improve the environment of their neighbourhoods. Otherwise it was traffic engineers responding to individual complaints and petitions from the public, requests from fellow officers in other departments or off their own bat who formulated proposals. Not surprisingly the spatial pattern of orders seen in Fig. 10.4 shows a concentration in older (congested) inner city areas (apart from orders banning commercial vehicles over 3 tons) but *between* these older neighbourhoods there is no striking variation evident, apart from the fact that G.I.A.s are better represented. As has been shown in Chapter VII schemes of environmental improvement often involved such elements. Orders which were amended or deleted were not concentrated in any particular type of area. In Portsmouth the pattern of opposition and support to individual traffic regulation orders was influenced by whether individual or groups of residents saw their amenity being threatened or enhanced. To a large extent this depended on where they lived. Locals, especially those living close by, were involved whereas transient motorists rarely objected. Conflict between residents and local businesses was also apparent, in a highly congested urban setting in which changes were being proposed with a view to improving traffic flow and residential amenity the latter sometimes felt that their interests were being neglected.

Traffic engineers were the key actors in the process of making these orders. It was primarily to them that individuals and neighbourhood groups such as G.I.A. residents' committees complained about traffic and parking problems. They aggregated these often raw demands into specific proposals and steered draft orders through the council to fruition. Their reports, containing as they did the representations from the public, were crucial. All told, councillors played a much more peripheral role throughout and rarely intervened decisively. It was ward councillors rather than members of the transportation committee who were occasionally responsible for insisting on changes in draft orders.

As far as an explanation of the outcomes is concerned it is apparent that the public, acting collectively or individually, were

responsible for getting some problems and proposals onto the agenda. At a later stage objectors - both residents and other sections of the community - were quite often successful in persuading the City of Portsmouth's engineer's department to make slight amendments to draft orders. In cases when the basic aims of the draft order could be realised then minor changes were conceded. The number of objectors and their residential location (whether they were local or not) made a difference, but not, apparently, what sort of people or area they came from. Commercial interests did not alway succeed at the expense of the demands of residents because many draft orders were specifically designed to protect and enhance the environment of congested, inner city areas.

Finally, consultation over traffic regulations benefited the local authority while at the same time permitting the public to influence events. Being open to suggestions from the public over traffic improvements and actively seeking support for, and potential opposition to, draft orders at *an early stage* avoided a great deal of time and effort later. Had this not been done then aggrieved residents and trucculent ward councillors would have had to be placated when orders were actually being made or implemented. Traffic engineers rarely had their final recommendations overturned because they had already won the support of the public for their proposals.

PART THREE

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION : EMPIRICAL FINDINGS, THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Patterns and processes of political participation have constituted the twin elements of this research. As such the study represents what is believed to be a unique attempt to describe and analyse the causes, characteristics and consequences of public demand-making. No comparable research has, as yet, explored such a wide range of modes of political activism nor the five dimensions which have constituted the major foci of the investigation. The nearest study in scope and content to the present one is Davidson's research on public influence attempts in Ann Arbor. However in this study the rôle of officials as well as councillors has been examined; a wider range of both institutional and informal channels of political communication and pressure observed, and the impact of political demand-making has been systematically analysed.

The study does not claim originality in the eclectic use it has made of different theories. It has however drawn on a wide range of empirical research in varied settings. Its deductive approach is not narrow nor its inductive methodology parochial.

A partial answer to the question as to why such a study has not been attempted before is that collecting data on political demand-making is - unlike voting - a very arduous task and one fraught with difficulties. A survey approach, while it does have potential pitfalls including the tendency that respondents will exaggerate the level of their political activity, comprises one strand in the data collection methodology employed in this study. A small number of the residents in Southsea were asked what political activities they had been involved in, why, when, how and to what effect. In this respect there are similarities between this study and that conducted by Peake in Reading, who relied entirely on such survey methods. Of course there is no shortage of data sources from which to obtain information on petitions, deputations, as well as what transpires at meetings with the public arranged by planners, housing officials, transport engineers, and educational officers. But it does require perseverance to persuade

busy officials to open semi-confidential files to an outside observer. It is a painstaking task to piece together the detailed outcomes of political demand-making from minutes, newspaper articles, interviews, and official reports. Furthermore once this information is gathered, it still has to be carefully evaluated. For example, what someone suggested in an interview has to be checked against what they wrote in a report or are minuted to have said at a committee meeting. In a real sense therefore what has been attempted in this study is a response to the challenge thrown down by Richardson -

> 'Researching participation then is no easy matter. It is beset with problems of both a technical and interpretive nature. This is not to argue, however, that it should not be undertaken. If there is to be any evidence with which to assess the impact of participation some studies must be carried out. Individual schemes should be examined and their results assessed. The various individuals involved in them can be interviewed, the decisions taken can be analysed, and some measure of their impact thereby developed. There is a need for greater information about outcomes and what people feel about them, in order to understand what participation means in practice.'
>
> (Richardson 1983, p. 125)

Another respect in which this case study has not been paralleled is in its analysis of a broad range of modes of political activity vis-à-vis four major local authority service areas - planning, housing, education and transport. Of course the charge of diffuseness, and insufficient depth of analysis can be levelled against a research project which has examined participation in terms of issues, spatial patterns, the rôle of councillors and officers, outcomes and functions. Any such drawbacks are, it is maintained, more than compensated for in the 'completeness' of the study which has investigated both causes *and* consequences of demand-making. The inherent dangers of analysing different modes of political activism over varying time periods is not underestimated but the cohesion of the study has been helped by the fact that it is the political life of *one* city which has been studied. Thus although many studies in Britain and elsewhere have examined the relationship between the public and local authorities most have had *narrower* aims than the present one. It should also be noted in passing that it is rare to find such a generous portrayal of geographical

patterns in the published work of political scientists. Distributions are often illustrated graphically but rarely cartographically. The maps in this study are not only illustrative, they are also useful in providing clues to explanations. As a corollary, geographical research into political participation is frequently naive when it comes to explaining political processes. A few years ago, an eminent Professor of Sociology (at the University of Kent) likened geographers to draughts players watching a chess game. His unflattering comment was that while they were able to observe the moves they had not the slightest idea of the rules of the game, therefore were lost when it came to analysis!

The aims of this concluding chapter are fourfold. First, some of the substantive evidence amassed in relation to the five dimensions of participation and consultation noted in Chapters IV to X will be outlined. Whether hypotheses have been generally confirmed or refuted overall will be discussed. Secondly, although theoretical conclusions have already been noted at the end of certain chapters an attempt will be made at synthesis. Thirdly, improvements in how the public may be informed about, consulted over, and given a greater say in decisions of the municipality will be suggested. The current state of debate on the practicalities of participation in Britain has been aptly characterised as follows -

> 'the high tide of enthusiasm for public participation is now in ebb ... the receding tide leaves pools of interest where new initiatives are taken.'
>
> (Boaden et al, 1982, preface)

This being the case it is important that policies and procedures which will improve the quantity and quality of participation are outlined. Finally, a brief reference will be made to the desirability and feasibility of future research.

(i) Empirical findings

(a) Issues

It was hypothesised that amenity issues would mobilise citizens into political action. That is, demand-making would be in response to

a perceived threat to the quality of the residential environment involving, for example, a noxious facility, unwanted change in land-use or deterioration in the quality of public services. Further, it was foreseen that certain sorts of issues would arise in different types of urban neighbourhoods. In contrast major allocative policy making or proposals would rarely be on the agenda for public consultation or the subject of popular protest.

A main finding in this respect is that demand-making does indeed revolve around localised, residential, quality of life concerns. These were the foci of both 'spontaneous' protests (e.g. petitioning) and demands made by members of G.I.A. residents' committees, tenants at J.C.B. meetings, parents in the consultation exercises mounted over proposed educational changes, and by residents when traffic regulation orders were being proposed. There was no evidence produced in Chapter V that the outcomes of elections were decided on the basis of such issues. However throughout part two of the study political demands *between* elections have been shown to be concerned with localised amenity issues. Not surprisingly objections to planning applications were focused on such issues - for example the disturbance and danger believed to be associated with hostels. Petitions and deputations were clearly primarily concerned with attempts to prevent the establishment of or alleviate the effect of perceived nuisances. 50 per cent of petitions were concerned with the regulation of noxious facilities and likewise 35 out of 55 deputations (Fig. 5.15(a)). Neighbourhood organisations and protest groups from very different kinds of areas in the city attempted to persuade the local authority to act in ways which would improve the environment of their localities. The residents' committee in G.I.A. 15 - responding to complaints made at public meetings and issues raised in response to questionnaire surveys - made the removal of an obtrusive local repair garage their first and major priority. Furthermore, the public as parents, council tenants, and road users were evidently motivated by amenity issues to take the opportunity to make their views known in official consultation exercises. Thus non-housing (environmental) issues were placed on successive agendas of the J.C.B. and figured largely (even in comparison to maintenance and repairs) in the exchanges of views between housing and other officials and the representatives of tenants' associations from council

estates (Figs. 8.6 and 8.7). In the case of the choice of site for a new 6th form college (involving the question of which existing secondary school should be closed) it was the putative threat posed by noisy 6th formers to the local neighbourhood as much as educational considerations which motivated Copnor residents to oppose the choice of 'their' school. Here the comments cited in the replies in both stages of the consultation exercise illustrated how and why the existing secondary school was preferred to the establishment of a 6th form college(Fig. 9.7). Likewise in demanding action over traffic problems, objecting to draft traffic regulation orders or protesting about their actual implementation it was accessibility considerations which featured largely in the comments made by local residents. Questions of danger, congestion, and noise were frequently cited. Finally when residents in Southsea were asked about issues about which they felt strongly and over which they had taken action 11 per cent mentioned existing and proposed noxious facilities, 19 per cent land-use changes, and 9 per cent the proposed closure of public facilities. It was patently not only policies and actions of the council they considered to be ill-considered and which irked them, but also noise (14 per cent), danger (11 per cent), inconvenience (15 per cent) in their immediate environment or associated with future proposals which seemed to have convinced them that they had to take political action. The survey also showed that valued, positive aspects of the local environment contributed to the resolve of some Southsea residents to stay and fight such threats. Thus the sort of issues noted by Robson (1983) in British cities, by Janelle and Millward (1976) and Ley and Mercer (1980) in Canadian cities, and Davidson (1979) in Ann Arbor were also raised by residents in Portsmouth and were the subject of demands made through a variety of channels.

Likewise they are the collective consumption issues with which 'defensive' social movements are involved. These are, according to Pickvance (1985), involved in demand-making against 'physical threats' to housing and neighbourhoods such as urban renewal or 'social threats' such as the siting of facilities for the mentally handicapped or for ex-prisoners. Other social movements are concerned with access to urban services including -

> 'financial access (public housing rents, bus fares), level of provision of services (opening hours of libraries, frequency of clinics, staffing levels), and eligibility for housing and coverage of services (allocation rules, school catchment areas).'
>
> (Pickvance 1985, p. 39)

Certainly the issues generating demands in all the modes of participation studied and for all policy areas fall readily in these two categories. This is less so with respect to a third category of urban social movements which -

> 'make demands for participation in town planning or in running schools, for self-management of public housing schemes, for neighbourhood councils and for lower (or higher) council spending.'
>
> (Pickvance 1985, p. 39)

As far as any regularities observed in the spatial pattern of issues of different types are concerned the situation is less clear. Different local authority estates certainly differed in the issues which were raised at the J.C.B. (Figs. 8.6 and 8.7). Group activity opposing land-use changes which were seen as threats were to be found in all parts of the city. In older residential areas it was the conversion of existing buildings for what were thought to be less desirable purposes (e.g. hostels) which stimulated opposition whereas in less densely populated suburbs, Farlington for example, it was the destruction of valued open spaces which sparked off protests. On the other hand action over traffic problems and concern about the closure of neighbourhood facilities was not the exclusive domain of residents in any particular type of neighbourhood.

If the issues which generated political activity were indeed those concerned with local amenity what sorts of issues were *not* to be found on the agenda when the public attempted to intervene or were invited to do so. Here a distinction referred to by Franceisco and Gitelman (1984) between 'high politics' (involving major political issues) and 'low politics' (focussed on decisions that directly touch the daily lives of citizens) is relevant. Certainly there is evidence that broader issues involving city-wide policies, plans and proposals; major financial allocations; and priorities in public service provision

do surface, but only rarely. On the evidence of this study they are certainly not on the official agenda when the views of the public are solicited by those in authority. It is true that some petitions and deputations did articulate the views of certain sections of the community over less localised issues such as council house rents, bus services, nuclear policy but they did not however get very far. Portsmouth's Joint Consultative Body never discussed the housing revenue account, the system of allocating council tenancies, building programmes or the major defects which became apparent in the maintenance programme. Individual G.I.A. committees were not involved in the decisions about the priority of declarations, or the annual capital and revenue allocations to be made to the environmental improvement schemes. When parents were asked about their preferences for future 6th form provision, the options and their merits and disadvantages were laid down by the local area education office. Motorists and residents affected by road traffic regulations were not invited to discuss the possibilities of alternative methods of dealing with traffic problems such as residents-only parking schemes.

Furthermore there were no deputations to the city's policy and resources committee or petitions to the treasurer's department when the municipal budget was being finalised. When deputations to the city council did begin to broaden their horizons in the issues they raised, the practice of allowing deputations was abruptly discontinued. From the results of the survey conducted in Southsea there is evidence to suggest that this preoccupation with localised environmental and public service issues was indeed a reflection of the actual priorities and perceptions of the public in at least the southern part of the city. National issues were not frequently cited as providing the basis for political mobilisation, although this may in part have been due to the questionnaire design.

Another problem which has been elucidated in the study is whether or not (or to what extent) issues automatically become the basis for political activism. (The question as to if and how spatial location gives rise to political activism will be noted later). That is, under what circumstances are issues which arise (most of them in response to council proposals), actually converted into complaints, or requests for a certain course of public

action? Is it indeed the case that some people participate in non-electoral local politics out of a sense of public duty, or make demands to help others? This complex behavioural theme has not been fully resolved but important clues are to be found, especially in Chapter VI. In Southsea, respondents were questioned about issues which, although they felt strongly about them, they had taken no action over (and why). Some respondents seemed resigned to local environmental problems for several reasons, namely: (1) these nuisances had existed before they moved to the area; (2) they did not know what to do about the problem, i.e. who was responsible for it, where to go to complain, who to exert pressure on to try to get things changed; (3) they did not have the time or inclination (partly it would seem because of a feeling of apathy generated in part from talking to neighbours); and (4) that what they would have demanded was thought to be contrary to the well established policies and procedures of the local council or beyond their powers to resolve. In contrast one G.I.A. resident in the Southsea sample stated that the political activity he engaged in between elections was not the result of any particular problems but rather because of the procedures of consultation initiated by the council.

Further clues to the exact causal link between changes in the built environment and the quality of life enjoyed or endured by local residents may be forthcoming from the analysis of the patterns of political activity which constituted the second major theme of the study.

(b) Patterns

It was hypothesised in Chapter IV(b) that there would be disparities in the volume of participation as between neighbourhoods in the city. Also that the modes of participation and tactics of demand-making employed would differ between areas depending on location, (inner city or suburb), socio-economic status, tenure and whether institutional channels existed or not.

In the first instance it is evident from the maps in Chapter IX and elsewhere intra-urban variations do exist. Only in the case of G.I.A. s did rates of questionnaire return and attendance at public

meetings show relatively small disparities. Even here variations existed as between individual streets in terms of the more continuous involvement in the residents' committees, and comments on environmental schemes. There were, as expected spatial variations observed in: (1) the speed with which people returned their registration forms and the extent to which they had to be cajoled into so doing by electoral canvassers - Fig. 5.2(a); (2) the turnout at different elections, in particular European and local - Fig. 5.4(a) to 5.4(e) inclusive; (3) the residential location of councillors, with some neighbourhoods having many and others none living in them - Figs. 5.8(a) and (b); (4) contacts and complaints to the environmental health department - Fig. 5.9; (5) deputations and petitions to the city council - Fig. 5.10; (6) the distribution of neighbourhood associations and protest groups - Figs. 5.16(a) and (b) and 5.17; (7) tenant associations whose leaders attended the J.C.B. - Fig. 8.4; (8) parental response in the two rounds of consultation over 6th form provision - Fig. 9.5 and 6; and with respect to initiatives and objections in the formulation of traffic regulation orders. Furthermore, in the case of the letters of objections to the appeal over the adult cinema in the city centre, there was enormous variation in the volume as between localities with some such as nearby Portsea recording very few objections - Fig. 5.12.

These geographical variations in the level of participation as between wards and neighbourhoods are not surprising but they nonetheless constitute substantive findings. They can be conveniently analysed in terms of a dual division of the city as between the officially declared inner city (Fig. 4.5), and the suburban areas to the north and east of Portsea Island and on the mainland. These two zones are far from internally homogeneous in their built environment, or the occupational status or housing tenure of their inhabitants, but they do possess a degree of uniformity, for example in terms of the density of population and age of housing. Fig. 11.1 subsumes the variations in a succinct form. The suburbs can be designated as a *high voting zone*, but also one which is characterised by a high volume of participation in institutional channels when available. For example, objections against the planning appeal and in 6th form consultation exercise. The hypothesis is refuted insofar as while the inner city's voting is lower, it is a *high demanding area* as illustrated in the concentration of

	Inner City	Suburbs
Enrolment	-	+
Voting turnout	-	+
Councillors	- (except Southsea)	+
Contacting	+	-
Petitioning	+	-
Deputations	+	-
Objections (Case Study 1)	-	+
G.I.A.s	-	- (none in existence)
J.C.B.	-	+
6th form consultation	-	+
Traffic regulation orders	+	-

+ = high level of participation

- = low level of participation

Figure 11.1 Participation in the inner city and suburbs

petitions, protest groups, and individual contacting. By virtue of their obsolescent built environment most major traffic regulation orders and all G.I.A. s are, of course, within the inner city (Figs. 7.1 and 10.4). Thus the apparent propensity of inner city residents to make demands on the city council 'spontaneously' is paralleled by the efforts of the authorities to consult them over planned changes in their environment.

The background factors which would explain these variations would be, it was hypothesised, class/occupation, and housing tenure as well as spatially concentrated environmental change and institutional consultation initiated by the city council. Proximity to the locational issues it was thought would also make for political involvement. Each of the explanatory variables will be examined in turn for most of the modes of participation recorded. In most cases the analysis is an areal and ecological one - comparisons and statistical correlations of the characteristics of wards or other units and the record of *actual*

participation on the part of their population. In the case of the Southsea survey the analysis was based on the background characteristics and reported political activity of individuals. Socio-economic status was for the purposes of analysis measured in terms of occupational status (Fig. 4.6(a) and (b)). Analysis in section (i) of Chapter V showed a positive statistical correlation between occupation and 'willingness' of enrolment, and turnout at all elections (Fig. 5.4(f)). Although no data was obtained on the social background of individual councillors, many councillors especially Conservative party members live in wards which have a high proportion of professional and managerial occupations, and virtually none in inner city electoral areas characterised by manual occupations. 'White collar' wards however generated few protest groups or petitions, which were concentrated in 'blue collar' wards such as Charles Dickens and Fratton. The pattern of objecting to planning applications is more diffuse in terms of the social geography of the city. In Southsea a higher proportion of activists are to be found amongst those surveyed who had professional and managerial occupations (Figs. 6.6 and 6.7).

The evidence on the effect of housing tenure is far less conclusive. In the case of G.I.A.s there is a weak statistical relationship between participation in the form of returning questionnaires and tenural status of such areas (Fig. 7.8). Likewise it has been shown that areas with higher proportions of council tenants needed more persuasion to register, and record a low turnout at elections. In Southsea, however, council tenants claimed that they participated as much as owner occupiers. One of the reasons why St. Jude and St. Thomas wards in Southsea recorded relatively low levels of electoral participation at least is because they contain pockets of multiple occupied, privately rented accommodation inhabited by a highly transient population including students. Since all G.I.A.s are characterised by high owner-occupation rates it is predictable that the rate of questionnaire return were uniformly high. The elderly in Southsea reported themselves as more politically active than other groups (see Fig. 6.6).

The clearest evidence that the unequal distribution of municipal intervention in changing the built environment affected the pattern of

participation is to be found in Chapters VII and X which are concerned with G.I.A.s and traffic regulation orders respectively. In those parts of the city where general improvement areas have been designated and draft traffic management schemes consistently proposed (oft times by G.I.A. residents' committees) then public participation was 'stimulated' by official efforts on a substantial scale. Likewise in the consultative exercise involving the choice of a site for the proposed 6th form college the higher volume of replies in the Mayfield catchment area can partly be explained by the fact that the public in Copnor had been given reason to believe that their neighbourhood and its school was the target. Statements attributed to senior education officials at public meetings were the catalysts in this case. Thus occupation, housing tenure, council 'visibility' are all significant correlates of political activism. One further, explicitly geographical, factor remains to be elucidated. This is the question as to whether or not people living close to environmental threats participate more than those living at a greater distance? In the case of objections to planning applications and appeals the evidence is contradictory. In the case of the adult cinema proximity was irrelevant. Indeed only five letters of objection were written by the few people living or many working in the immediate vicinity and very few were received from neighbouring inner city localities. It should be noted however that Portsea is separated from the city centre by a park and cathedral. Residents presumably felt it was outside their turf. (Davidson, 1981). However, a contrary pattern was found in the two cases of objections to planning applications concerned with hostels (Fig. 5.13). A clear distance decay pattern was evident, with streets within a radius of two metres recording higher proportion of objections than those 100-200 metres and 200+ metres distant. In Chapter VI a large proportion of residents in several streets in Southsea reported that they perceived specific local threats and acted upon them. For example the demolition of a power station near Nobbs Lane, Old Portsmouth, and the alleged anti-social behaviour in Eton Road by pupils from a nearby secondary school. With respect to voting in the 6th form consultation exercise the evidence from Figs. 9.5 and 9.6 is that it was parents in Mayfield's catchment area and the public living nearby that not only voted in larger numbers in both stages but also consistently voted against

Mayfield being selected as the site for a 6th form college. As far as voting in elections is concerned no evidence has been forthcoming for a 'friends and neighbours' effect, i.e. that candidates and councillors received more support from those electors living close to them. On the other hand those residents who objected to draft traffic regulation orders almost invariably lived in the roads named by that order and indeed close to those sections affected by proposed parking restrictions. In some cases inhabitants of neighbouring roads also objected fearing that they would also be adversely affected by, for example, increasing volumes of traffic.

(c) Councillors and officers

Empirical studies into the links between local councillors on the one hand, and on the other full-time officials employed by local authorities, have stressed that their respective rôles, and relationships between them, are complex. These two sets of political actors bring very different loyalties, skills and perceptions to policy-making processes and the part that ought to be played in it by the public. While the traditional focus has often been on the rôle of councillors it is officers who have recently attracted attention. This is because:

> 'the influence of officials obviously varies but is nowhere negligible and is often considerable : naturally so given the volume of business to be dealt with, its complexity and the reliance of councillors on official advice'
>
> (Miliband, 1982, p.141)

Of course individual councillors and officials vary greatly in their influence depending on their status, and seniority.

First, what are their respective rôles with regard to the varied modes of participation discussed in Chapter IV? As far as electoral enrolment was concerned it was entirely organised by the electoral registration officer and his staff. During elections of course, while officials organise, candidates, including encumbent councillors, are meanwhile busy striving to get themselves (re-)elected. In one important respect however (apart from canvassing and campaigning) councillors did influence the outcomes of elections. The majority party in Portsmouth persuaded the Boundary Commission that their

scheme for electoral wards was preferable to that suggested by the Labour Party. That the electoral fortunes of the controlling Conservative Party have been considerably enhanced by such influence is indicated by the electoral bias has been shown to exist in the ratio of votes gained to seats won in successive elections in the 1970s and thus far in the 1980s (Figs. 5.6(a) and (b)).

With respect to different modes of public participation between elections the respective rôles of councillors and officers is more varied. On the evidence of housing complaints recorded by the environmental health department in Portsmouth, many contacts are directed at officials; some are referred to them by councillors. This is not surprising given that it is officials who make many such routine service decisions. Indeed the city council regularly publishes a leaflet which sets out which agencies should be contacted over a wide range of problems. In this pamphlet only when no satisfaction is gained from officials is it suggested that councillors should be contacted. It should be noted however that councillors do set the parameters of finance and decision rules which in a broad sense determine the quality of response which is accorded by officials to complaints from the public.

The significant part played by councillors in relation to petitioning has been confirmed. Petitioning as a tactic is clearly suggested by some councillors to their constituents, and occasionally petitions were personally presented to committees by ward councillors. It was generally Labour Party councillors who performed this 'delegate' rôle although majority party councillors who were not members of the relevant committee deciding on the issue also used this tactic. As far as deputations during the 1970s and early 1980s were concerned both councillors and senior officials attending council meetings became increasingly restive about the increasing number of deputations and the critical tone of their demands - especially over city-wide issues. Although councillors listened courteously to deputations their impatience in having their already long agenda delayed was a potent factor in their decision to ban deputations to meetings of the full council. The more specific demands made by deputations to the planning and transport committees were obviously seen in a more

favourable light, although even here some officials expressed doubts about the validity of the exercise. In a few controversial cases in which deputations were involved, councillors were swayed by the demands of the public even when this meant going against the professional recommendations of their officers.

The activities of neighbourhood organisations were aided and abetted by sympathetic ward councillors. However the one neighbourhood council which was established in Stamshaw in the early 1960s was not supported by an influential, senior councillor (later leader of the council and Lord Mayor) whose antipathy towards it was partly responsible for its early demise. It is probable that associations like the Friends of Old Portsmouth do exert quiet but persuasive pressure on their Tory councillors. (Regrettably this association declined to allow the author to scrutinize its minutes and its chairman remained extremely tight-lipped when interviewed!). Certainly the New Buckland Residents' Association often allied itself to Labour Party councillors. Independent city councillors representing Cosham were closely connected with the Cosham and District Ratepayers' Association. As will be seen however having the support of one or even several senior majority party councillors was no guarantee of success when it came to making demands.

The Southsea survey revealed that requests for information and help were often initially directed at officials in the civic offices and only then was the assistance of ward councillors solicited. Some unflattering comments were made about councillors in general by some respondents. Some of these comments intimated that the age of some councillors and their 'invisibility' (except prior to elections) militated against them being used as channels for complaining to the authority. Perhaps the low membership of political parties also has something to do with explaining why contacts with councillors is seen as a last resort in tackling a problem or seeking redress for a grievance. In the case of appeals to the ombudsman, however, the public had no choice insofar as they were obliged to find at least one councillor to sponsor their appeals. The attitude of councillors in relation to appeals to the local ombudsman was, as with other types of channels of demand-making, inevitably affected by their party

affiliation and rôle on the council. Minority party councillors showed a greater willingness to assist appellants.

Legal action undertaken by groups or individuals against the city council, for example, under the 1936 Health Act over dampness in municipal flats, was very much resented by councillors of the ruling Conservative Party and senior officers alike. In contrast considerable help was given to those bringing these particular actions by a Labour Party (now S.D.P.) city candidate who, as an architect, gave professional evidence as a witness. It was the legal staff in the city secretary and solicitor's office whose responsibility it was to defend the city council in such cases in the Magistrates' Court. On several occasions they did so unsuccessfully.

With respect to consultation over environmental improvements in G.I.A.s it was individual junior and middle ranking planning officers who played paramount rôles. In Stamshaw the programme received its early impetus with the assistance of sympathetic councillors. Successive G.I.A. declarations were formally introduced at public meetings by the chairmen of the planning and housing committees, albeit on the basis of using notes prepared by their staff. Ward councillors played a minor part in organising the mechanics of consultation and guiding deliberations of the residents' committees. Indeed they were, in some instances, accorded only associate membership status (without voting rights) unless they were themselves residents of the G.I.A. concerned. Their attendance at G.I.A. residents' committee meetings was sporadic, except when issues such as traffic schemes affecting several G.I.A.s in their ward were being discussed. In contrast planning staff and to a lesser extent officers from other departments regularly attended G.I.A. residents' committee meetings (Fig. 7.17). They were responsible for writing preliminary reports, aggregating the preferences of individual residents into a draft scheme and ensuring that the appropriate council committee agreed with the environmental schemes. They also supervised the continuous dissemination of information to residents. In effect they steered the schemes through from inception to completion. Certainly it was councillors who nominally made the financial decisions which determined what G.I.A. improvements could be made, where, and over what period of

time. But even here officers who were members of the G.I.A. working party were not without influence. For example the spatial 'grouping' of G.I.A.s was very much at the insistence of officers. Councillors generally favoured a system whereby 'jam' would be spread out more evenly.

By contrast, in the deliberations of the J.C.B. it was councillors from the housing committee who played a more dominant rôle. The chairman was frequently quoted in the minutes as urging tenants to 'come back' to him if they got no satisfaction. It was he who took the initiative in convening special meetings to explain rent rises, and who chased up complaints made by representatives of tenants' associations. He also urged them to contact the appropriate housing officers in the civic offices or, in the case of Paulsgrove and Leigh Park, to go direct to their district office. Apart from the chairman, councillors on the J.C.B. played a more peripheral part in the proceedings. More centrally involved were officials from the housing department and, when an item on the agenda was of concern to their particular area of responsibility and expertise, officers from other departments. Some Labour councillors tried unsuccessfully to give the J.C.B. more teeth. Half-hearted attempts were made to make it more representative of tenants and council estates for the city as a whole. When it came to the crunch though, members of the J.C.B. (including councillors) were beholden to the housing committee and to full-time officers in the city and to a lesser extent in the Havant Borough. The J.C.B., as a consultative body, had no authority and precious little influence.

The case study involving 6th form educational provision in the city was the most revealing in terms of the relative influence of councillors and officers - in this case at the county level - and between them and the public (notably parents). In response to circulars from Whitehall it was senior county educational administrators who initiated a debate which was eventually to alter the structure of secondary schools in the city. The Portsmouth area office was allowed a great measure of autonomy to formulate proposals and test them with the teaching profession and those members of the public most concerned, i.e. parents of children in existing schools. All the preparatory work

was done by the area education officer, and her senior staff. Elected members merely chaired the series of public meetings which were held and took part in the deliberations of the Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee (P.A.A.C.) and its schools working party (they were a minority on both). City councillors merely debated the issue and recorded a series of inconclusive votes as to which site should *not* be chosen for the 6th form college. Up to the time when the P.A.A.C. recommended that Mayfield should be the site for the new 6th form college, and including the decision that a college was preferable, it was very much the local officers who moulded events. However it was then that certain key senior Conservative councillors re-asserted their authority. It was they who persuaded their colleagues to reverse the recommendations of the area advisory committee, ignore the preference of the majority of parents and - it can be inferred - acted contrary to the wishes of their officials. The last named were silent (or silenced) when it came to the crucial Hampshire schools sub-committee debate. Whether they could have influenced the vote is a matter of conjecture. The councillors involved had been pressured by Mayfield School parents and Copnor residents not to choose 'their' school and accordingly they decided to overrule the advice they had been given. In this respect their decisions were guided by political rather than technical or purely educational considerations. Their retrospective justification of the decision to site the new college at Great Salterns School by recourse to a variety of locational and amenity arguments did not convince many of those who had been involved. This issue is a good example of a reversal of officer recommendations which Fleming and Short (1984) found to occasionally occur in development control. They argue that by focusing on the number and type of such reversals extra insights can be gained into councillor-officer relationships.

In the less politicised atmosphere in which traffic regulation orders were formulated and finalised, it was again officials - experts in road safety and traffic management - who were largely responsible for informing and consulting the public. Demands to take action over traffic or parking problems were mainly directed at the City Engineer's Department, often to engineers who attended G.I.A. meetings. The detailed provisions of draft orders was prepared entirely by a principal engineer and his staff. At later stages objections were

reviewed and summarised for committee by the same officers. Committee members and ward councillors occasionally assisted the public in making minor objections. The chairman occasionally stifled some proposals before they even got as far as the committee stage. But it was the technical expertise of salaried staff which generally prevailed. Very seldom did the committee members decline to take the advice and pay heed to the recommendations contained in the reports prepared by officers. Furthermore it was these officials who were on hand to explain the intricacies of specific orders to members of the public when they visited the civic offices to scrutinize proposals and plans. Some members of the public withdrew their objections when they had been enlightened as to the aims and detailed provisions of proposed orders by officials. Thus the view expressed by Boaden et al that -

> 'the input of both individuals and groups to the policy making system is likely to be via officials rather than through councillors'
>
> (Boaden et al 1982, p. 26)

is confirmed in the case of traffic regulation orders and indeed to a large extent in relation to other services. The public only sought the assistance of their ward councillor if they opposed a draft order or actual order and did not seem to be getting anywhere. Consultation with other official agencies such as the police was also undertaken by officers while county councillors and officials merely rubber stamped the whole exercise.

In general therefore for the issues, modes of participation, and services examined in Portsmouth there was a substantial degree of consensus as between officers and councillors. In some instances tensions and disagreements did exist for example over the 6th form college site. In relation to public consultation and demand-making it was officers who played a directing rôle and councillors a more facilitating and reactive one.

(d) Outcomes

The fourth and penultimate set of hypotheses concerns the response to, and outcomes of political demand-making. It was hypothesised that all demands would be accorded a positive symbolic

response by elected members and officers of the city council. That is the public would rarely receive an outright and immediate rejection of their demands before they had at least been considered. It was anticipated that they would be granted access, i.e. allowed to make their point, would also be given assurances orally or in writing, that the matter they raised would be investigated, and their views taken into account. In contrast only selected demands would actually generate tangible results which was favoured by those members of the public involved. It was hypothesised that a series of factors would determine whether or not a successful outcome would be obtained by those making demands. Stone's suggestion in this respect is that -

> 'it is often the case that the weak must struggle while the strong have only to ask'
>
> (Stone 1980, p. 981)

Thus it is commonly stated that groups which have resources, organisational expertise and internal cohesion will be successful. Buchanan (1982) asserts that the public will be granted no more than the authorities wish to concede. Thus there were theoretical and empirical reasons for suggesting that outcomes will be biased *in favour of* those emanating from white collar individuals and areas, using officially backed channels; and *against* those who employ non-institutional, strident tactics, and whose demands are contrary to established plans, policies and procedures of the local authority. However it is also anticipated that overall success or failure will have as much to do with (1) *'how much'* is being demanded, and the *cost* of acceding to it as (2) *who* is making the demand and *how*.

Before discussing the main findings of the study with respect to the outcomes of demand-making *between* elections it is worth pointing out who gained in the electoral process. It is clear that in terms of electoral participation supporters of Conservative Party candidates won more seats than they would if electoral bias did not exist. Votes for Labour Party candidates on the other hand did not do so well overall and the same goes for other minority parties. We have seen that political control of the city was, during the period under study, vested in the Conservative Party. It was the candidates, members and

supporters of this party who were in a sense therefore the beneficiaries of the electoral process (Figs. 5.7(a) and (b)). Whether or not demands between elections from Conservative Party members and supporters were successful remains to be seen. It is anticipated that, at the very least, they would be looked upon more sympathetically.

In terms of a possible symbolic response to political demands there is overwhelming evidence that those in authority were more than ready to listen and take notice of what the public said and demanded. Equally clear is the fact that not all demands were successful in any tangible way. In the case of individual citizen-initiated contacts all were recorded and investigated as a matter of course, although in all probability they varied in how quickly they were dealt with. All 46 petitions were 'accepted' by councillors and officers to whom they were addressed but just over half ultimately 'won' their case. Objections to planning applications were received and processed in the planning department, and reports were prepared which listed the number and addresses of objectors and the substance of their arguments. Letters of objection were also placed in the members' room prior to the relevant meetings and objectors frequently spoke as deputations to the planning committee. In the case of the adult cinema objectors were successful as were one set of residents who objected to hostels for single homeless men in Southsea. (In the other case local residents were initially successful, but eventually lost their case). There was only one instance recorded of a deputation being refused permission to address the city council. All deputations were listened to courteously (albeit slightly impatiently on some occasions). In the event, not all succeeded but this would have been impossible anyway given that over certain issues they were making conflicting demands.

The demands of protest groups were often acknowledged in the columns of the local newspaper. A senior official was frequently quoted as declaring that complaints would be thoroughly investigated. If anything such ad hoc groups of protesting residents seem to have been more successful than established and formally organised neighbourhood associations but detailed evidence is not available on this point. The latter were accorded at least grudging recognition

by specific agencies of the city council (for example tenants' associations by the housing department). When the public were asked about outcomes, the picture they painted was not quite so rosy. Respondents in Southsea questioned as to whether they got a symbolic, substantially favourable, or entirely negative response in their dealings with the city authorities reported a mixed reception (Fig. 6.16). Nearly a third said that in their particular experience they were neither heard or heeded. Nearly a quarter reported that they were listened to but little else, whereas over 30 per cent claimed to have gained some substantial advantage 'as a result of' their involvement. While most respondents seemed clear as to what happened to their demands a few candidly admitted that their knowledge of what happened was a bit fuzzy.

In the case of litigation, groups of tenants in Somerstown and Portsdown Park successfully took the city council to court to abate a nuisance under the 1936 Health Act and forced their landlords to make extensive repairs to prevent dampness. In both these and those few cases where civic maladministration was found by the local ombudsman, the city council had little option but to respond. In one instance long-term changes in the procedures of the authority were instituted, though not personal redress for the complainant.

As far as the outcome of consultation in Portsmouth's G.I.A. (as shown in detail in the case of G.I.A. 15) the issues raised at initial public meetings were recorded. The preferences of individual householders for environmental improvements as expressed in questionnaires were fully analysed and reproduced in the planning officers' reports. It has also been shown that residents' committees had ample opportunity to comment on environmental schemes, as did individual residents on the specific parts of their scheme which affected them. The observations and demands raised by members of the residents' committees were influential in initially framing these schemes and in the mechanics of their implementation. Since a scheme had to be agreed by the residents' committee they virtually had a veto over its contents. The case of the Justus Garage in G.I.A. 15 illustrates that when a residents' committee insisted on a particular course of action they were successful and this despite initial

reservations on the part of planning staff. Although official action on certain issues was not always as speedy as the residents demanded, it did to a large measure reflect the preferences of local people both expressed by way of questionnaires and at meetings.

In Chapter VIII it was made clear that tenants' association representatives on the J.C.B. were able to submit any items they wished. The issues they raised however mundane were recorded and looked into, in some cases reluctantly, by the chairman and officials. The fact that certain issues appeared on the agenda of successive meetings showed that progress in resolving them was often slow. Some long standing amenity and housing matters cleared up to the evident satisfaction of all concerned.

In the case of sixth form reorganisation which took place in the early 1980s, parents and the few members of the public who completed questionnaires also had their overall preferences made known to county councillors and members of the area advisory committee. The detailed comments which many parents sent in accompanying ballot forms were scrutinised by junior officials and by the author in his rôle as parents' representative on P.A.A.C. but as far as is known councillors did not see them. In the first round of consultation the parents who voted for a 6th form college had the satisfaction of seeing their choice recommended by the P.A.A.C. and also accepted by the county's schools sub-committee. In contrast the preferences of those who favoured retaining the status quo or alternative arrangements were overruled. Meanwhile parents who attended the rounds of public meetings were permitted to express their opinions to platforms comprising senior area officers and members of the county education committee. Many at the Mayfield School meeting took the opportunity to show their forcible opposition to the suggestion that Mayfield School should be closed to make way for a college. When the public and parents were asked to specify their preference as to a site for the proposed 6th form college this time it was *not* the majority of those voting (who opted for Mayfield) whose views prevailed. It was their second choice - Great Salterns School - which was eventually selected by county councillors. In this case it was the public protests of Mayfield parents/Copnor residents which triumphed over

the votes recorded in the city-wide public consultation ballot. The belated campaign by Great Salterns' parents to save their school was rebuffed both by the L.E.A. and the minister and his advisers at the department of education and science.

The situation with respect to public support for and opposition to the provisions of traffic regulation orders was similar to that described earlier over planning applications. Groups such as G.I.A. residents' committees who demanded that traffic problems should be dealt with invariably had their requests taken seriously. While some were taken no further others ended up as draft orders. As in the case of planning, letters of objection and occasionally support were collated and summarised by officials in their reports to the transportation committee. Some objectors were successful in bringing about modifications in draft orders, some persuaded councillors to shelve orders altogether. There were also cases, however, where draft orders went ahead despite objections. A similar scenario existed for the far fewer people who wrote letters in support of draft orders. Thus public intervention in the lengthy process was invariably granted an 'access and agenda' response. The suggestions and demands incorporated in their letters and personal comments made face-to-face with officials often resulted in minor concessions but very rarely in an order being revoked in its entirety. The hypothesis that a symbolic response would always be forthcoming but not all demands would generate positive, tangible outcomes is *confirmed*. Not surprisingly it is more difficult to come to a firm conclusion over the second set of hypotheses. There are two possible approaches to analysing why outcomes differed. The first is to take each mode of participation and service area in which the public were consulted in turn and pick out those factors which appeared to be significant. (To a large extent this has been done at the end of each of the chapters in part two of the study). A second method - and one which will be adopted below - is to take each of the factors in turn and examine its significance in relation to demand outcomes relating to education, housing, planning and transport and any other relevant services or issues.

There is little evidence to support or refute conclusively the first explanatory variable that demands from 'white collar' groups will win and those from members of the public with manual occupations will lose. Certainly in the case of the adult cinema objectors (many of whom were church goers) predominantly lived in 'white collar' wards. Respondents with white collar occupations in the survey of Southsea did not report that they had won a higher proportion of their demands than others (Fig.6.17). In the locational conflict surrounding the choice of a site for a 6th form college the occupational composition of both the wards in which Mayfield parents lived and those covering the Great Salterns School catchment area were similar. Further conflicting evidence can be seen from the fact that not all demands from higher status neighbourhoods such as Old Portsmouth and Farlington/Drayton or the Craneswater area of Southsea were successful. Conversely some protest groups, and deputations to the city council from Portsea, Paulsgrove, Landport and Buckland, actually won their campaigns. However it should be noted that the leadership of neighbourhood associations was not always provided by individuals with manual occupations - for example, the chairman of the New Buckland residents' association was an insurance broker and its secretary a former police constable.

One major finding concerning the channels of demand-making is that there is no one tactic or mode of participation which will guarantee success to those members of the public making demands. It is evident that demands made through, direct, institutionalised channels such as the J.C.B., residents' committees in G.I.A.s, the less direct 6th form consultation exercise, and formal procedures of objecting to draft or actual traffic regulation orders were not automatically acceded to by those in authority. Neither did those using petitions or, the local newspaper (often protest groups) always fail. It would have been very surprising if any channel or tactic had been shown to have had a monopoly of tangible success. Nonetheless some channels did seem to have been more conducive to obtaining a favourable outcome than others.

In issues when conflicting demands were made by different groups of residents or others, it was those that had used formally

institutionalised channels which generally prevailed. The reason being that these direct forms of participation had given the public e.g. G.I.A. residents committee members an opportunity to bargain directly with officers and to 'persuade, induce, cajole or otherwise influence' them (Richardson 1983, p. 85). For example, in the case of the proposed traffic regulation order in the King Street area of Southsea, officials and councillors sided with the formally constituted G.I.A. 4 residents' committee. In contrast the objections of a local publican and his customers, a few of whom were locals, were rebuffed. Likewise when Great Salterns parents belatedly organised a petition protesting against the choice of their school as the site of the 6th form college their demands were ignored. The views expressed vociferously at an earlier *official* public meeting and recorded as those of a substantial minority in the second ballot prevailed. On the other hand it should be noted that the majority of parents in the city as a whole who voted in the second round of consultation favoured Mayfield School as a 6th form college site. The views of those parents who had dutifully recorded their preferences and in many cases justified their choices did *not* prevail. This case clearly illustrates the fact that the procedures of formal consultation are not always perceived, by councillors at least, as the only avenue or even the most legitimate of channels.

Demands which had *unanimous support* (of a given neighbourhood) would, it was hypothesised, be successful. The adult cinema (607 objections to one letter of support) shows that cohesive backing was significant. The cases of the two hostels are not so clear cut but provide evidence that when a substantial number and proportion of neighbours object to planning applications their views are taken seriously. When the Residents' Committee of G.I.A. 15 voted unanimously for the removal of a local garage and its replacement by a neighbourhood park their costly recommendation, about which officers had reservations, was carried through to fruition. Pleas for traffic management schemes which involved blocking off roads and creating one-way streets were generally not acted upon when traffic engineers feared that such measures would generate substantial opposition. Likewise draft orders which were opposed by 'whole streets' or where the demands of residents in adjoining streets were conflicting rarely

went ahead. The conclusion that can be drawn from an analysis of public participation and protest in relation to specific issues is that when a demand has the support of a substantial majority of those potentially affected it will at least be taken seriously by those in authority. Councillors and officers may even accede to it *if* it suits them so to do.

It was suggested that demands would be more likely to succeed if they: (1) required only small amounts of finance to be resolved; (2) accorded with official commitments, policy positions, plans, and decision-making rules; and (3) had the (active) support of senior majority party councillors. These hypotheses are concerned with reactions of those representing the interests of the local authority to *what* is being demanded rather than by whom and by what means.

First, it is evident that minor complaints and requests involving service delivery made by individuals, protest groups, tenants associations, G.I.A. residents' committees were adequately dealt with by officials. This was because the extra cost of dispatching an inspector, or instructing a street cleaner or refuse collection vehicle to clear up a reported mess incurred minimal cost in terms of time, effort or resources. Indeed public money may have been saved by the modifications often demanded in draft traffic orders. Demands by protest groups that new facilities should *not* be developed also succeeded, in part because they entailed future savings in public expenditure. On the other hand, there were exceptional cases in which giving way to public demands (in this case by a protest group) cost the local authority considerable sums of money, for example, the compensation (£35,000) which had to be paid to contractors when it was decided to halt construction on a sports hall extension in Southsea.

The overwhelming evidence is that local authorities acceded to demands which accorded with their own well established policies and procedures. Although it should however be borne in mind that some proposals put forward by the local authority may not have been firm commitments. Rather they were made to 'test the water' or guage the strength of public opinion on potentially controversial issues. Planning applications were more likely to be approved if they were in line with local plans and the character of conservation areas

(Fig. 5.11). Likewise the planning committee were reluctant to grant planning permission for a hostel which local residents (including the chairman of the local G.I.A. committtee) felt was out of keeping with an area being environmentally improved. Similarly, the fact that the city council had already rejected an application by Bardengold Ltd., for an adult cinema meant that the appeal by the company was unlikely to be received favourably. The success or failure of deputations was also dependent on whether they were critical or supportive of recommendations by the council's committees. As has been seen deputations supporting committee recommendations were successful on 22 occasions out of 25 (Fig. 5.15(e)). This of course reflects the political realities of municipal decision making in which committee recommendations are normally approved by the full council. One obvious feature of many unsuccessful deputations was that they involved city-wide issues on which the council's position was well known. For example the demand by Portsmouth's C.N.D. that the city should be declared a nuclear free zone was known to be contrary to the policy of the Conservative controlled council. It will also be recalled that the Southsea survey respondents gave a number of reasons for their inaction over certain issues which vexed them. These included the feeling that the council was not interested in such problems, or that a proposed solution was contrary to its policy. When the question of providing resident-only parking schemes was mooted in G.I.A. residents' committees or by objectors to traffic regulation orders, the response of the city engineer's department was invariably negative. The officers quoted the failure of the Portsea experiment, and the difficulty of enforcement. The council had set its face against such a policy and officials were not apparently impressed when it was pointed out that such schemes were in operation in other cities. When objectors demanded that the parking spaces near to their homes should be preserved at all costs they rarely won. Very few instances of the city council overturning its own established policies and procedures can be found. Only very infrequently did the authority do a U-turn in response to demands from the public. On the decisions when a decision was overturned it was when it was deemed a special case. Thus the Henderson Road caravan site was preserved.

Finally support from a senior majority party councillor for a demand which challenged established policies of the council was unlikely to guarantee success. There were at least two notable exceptions. First the public support of John Marshall, the leader of the council, was a crucial factor in surmounting the recommendation of the housing committee in the Henderson Road case. Secondly Mayfield parents had two powerful allies - both Tory county councillors who were members both of the P.A.A.C. (one was chairman) and the education committee. It was they who persuaded their colleagues at Winchester to pick Great Salterns School as the site for the 6th form college. In both cases their intervention was not so much out of purely electoral considerations (they were not in danger of losing their seats) but because they wished to be seen to be putting their own stamp on the proceedings. Councillor Marshall was establishing his authority over a committee chairman and Councillor Hale rewarding his supportive electors (Hoare, 1983) demonstrating that he had influence over events affecting his own patch. (Whether and why they were sympathetic to these causes is, in a sense, immaterial).

The evidence is unclear as to whether or not support by an individual minority councillor or indeed the Labour group constituted a help or hindrance in winning a case. Certainly not all protests from the inner city many of which were actively supported by Labour ward councillors were doomed to fail. On the other hand when such demands involved costly changes in policy or were alien to the philosophy of the Conservative group (such as the demand for a nuclear free zone) they did not succeed.

(e) Functions

Both theory and practice point to the multifunctional rôle which participation and consultation performs. In the case of members of the controlling party - particularly chairmen of committees - support could be built for their policies in general or specific plans and programmes. Minority party councillors by contrast will use demands by the public to discomfort those in control. All councillors will therefore respond to issues raised by citizens and actively encourage them, in order to be seen to be keeping in touch with the mood and feelings of their

constituents. They will take the opportunity to gain public support for their decisions. Thus the attitude and expectations of individual councillors towards public participation will depend on their party affiliation, and seniority. As far as officials are concerned it is more a matter of making sure that their proposals are sufficiently acceptable by the public so as to facilitate their enactment and implementation. By establishing and administering specific mechanisms for public consultation they hope to make demands from the public more manageable. They will also take the opportunity to ensure that the public appreciate some of the constraints under which they operate. Senior officials will use feedback from the public as a measure of the effectiveness of their own departmental bureaucracies. It is also anticipated that they will seek to strengthen their departmental domains by using demands from the public as evidence for backing for their own projects and plans. Faced by the task of ensuring that their proposals are acceptable, and given the statutory requirements to consult those potentially affected, officers will take the opportunity to seek the views of the public by direct and indirect means. Thus to elected members and full-time officials public participation and consultation has a number of complementary functions to perform. As Hoggart has observed:

> 'groups are there to provide an early warning system against public opposition as well as advice (and possibly aid) on implementing policies more efficiently'
>
> (Hoggart 1984, p. 191)

By contrast the perspectives and perceptions of members of the public are likely to be very different. They see participation as a means to an end, i.e. raising issues about which they feel strongly. When they disagree with actions and proposals of the local authority their aim is to make it change its mind. Some members of the public may also take the opportunity to find out what the council is doing or proposing in their area; they thus gain knowledge and experience. They may also actually enjoy dealing with those in authority. Certainly as we have seen there is no shortage of direct and indirect participation in Portsmouth. Deputations and petitions are received; G.I.A. residents' committees set up and given a veto over environmental

improvements; tenants represented on a consultative committee; polls over proposed school changes organised, and objections to planning applications and draft traffic regulations solicited. But what function(s) did it all serve? The evidence from successive chapters will be reviewed. Attention will be paid to any possible functional distinction between citizen initiated contacts and protests, and channels of consultation framed by the authority. Whatever other functions may be served by elections it is of course through them that councillors gain their legitimacy and authority. The electoral registration officer and those who he employs as canvassers no doubt derive professional satisfaction from ensuring that the register of elections is as accurate as possible. One of the reasons why so much effort is expended in this task is to avoid having an avalanche of complaints and queries once the register is published and the public are invited to scrutinize it. Elections are of course the lynch pin of local *representative* democracy and voters have direct influence over the composition of the council. We have seen in Portsmouth that the pattern of support for candidates of different parties did not vary that greatly over successive elections studied. Most voters took the opportunity to register their loyalty to a given party (Fig. 5.5). It should not be forgotten however that a majority of the electorate in all but general elections did not actually vote (Fig. 5.4(a)). Like the few who spoiled their ballot papers these registered electors took the opportunity to 'record' their disinterest or alienation from the whole business.

In contrast *between* elections the public in Portsmouth aired their views and made political demands in a variety of ways. They spoke in the council chambers as deputations, contacted the local press, objected to planning applications and appeals. From their perspective all this activity was aimed primarily at alerting the council to specific problems and applying pressure on them. But from the point of view of councillors and officials other functions were served at the same time by these activities and especially the demands made through institutionalised channels.

In the case of G.I.A.s in the city, planners used the two questionnaire surveys and initial public meeting to find out what

local problems concerned residents. They already had a pretty good idea of those aspects of the built environment which needed improvement and were well aware of local nuisances. Thus it can be argued that they were basically using the results of these surveys to demonstrate to councillors and colleagues in other departments that the public did feel strongly about roads, pavements, non-conforming users and the like. This was 'ammunition' in favour of infrastructural improvements which were to be made anyway. At the same time the specific problems singled out by residents (in such large numbers) gave planners a fair idea of the priorities of the populace. The first questionnaire was also required as to satisfy the statutory requirements of consultation. The results were incorporated in the section 28 reports which were submitted to the D.O.E.

The setting up of G.I.A. residents' committees gave a few chosen individual residents the opportunity to formulate and monitor the implementation of schemes of environmental improvement. They also fully used the opportunity to raise other neighbourhood problems with council representatives who were present at their meetings. Each committee had a veto over its scheme and were able to ensure that it met with general approval. All householders were given the opportunity to comment on the scheme as a whole and say whether or not they wanted minor changes made in front of their properties. With the exception of Stamshaw, all residents' committees had ample opportunity to help formulate their own schemes and they also had a say over the timing and placing of agreed developments. Having said that it is clear that having a representative body such as this also suited the planners. As has been seen (Fig. 7.5) modernizing Portsmouth's older residential areas was a costly business and one in which the conflict potential was high. However once the scheme had been agreed (even if this entailed making changes in the original draft plan as envisaged by planners) then any subsequent adverse feedback which might arise at the implementation stage could be dismissed. Furthermore these meetings were used to explain to residents the difficulties of finding finance or sites for some of the costly improvements which were often demanded by local residents. In addition the planners only had a dozen or so residents to deal with as opposed to over a thousand in many cases (Fig. 7.2).

Implementation of the schemes was further aided by the considerable amount of time consuming leg work done by residents' committee members. Thus the city council saved time, money and aggravation by the continuous consultation it mounted in each G.I.A. It is an example of a two-way channel of communication and influence which benefited residents and planners alike. It also enabled councillors, while taking a minor rôle in the proceedings, to be seen to be taking an active interest in parts of their wards and be identified with improvements being made.

In the case of consultation with council tenants however the J.C.B. was a much less satisfactory organisation to all concerned. Its lack of powers or influence, changing and uneven composition, and infrequent meetings meant that, during the five years under review, it played a weak and asymmetrical rôle. However leaders of tenants' and residents' associations who attended did to a large extent control the agenda. They were free to raise any housing or other problems affecting their estates or blocks of flats (Figs. 8.6 and 8.7). Despite being advised against so doing they seized the opportunity to take up individual complaints citing them as being illustrative of common problems. The J.C.B. was thus used by tenants to air grievances about inadequacies in maintenance and repairs and deficiences in service delivery and environment. Although its meetings were infrequent it was easy to pursue salient issues because of the procedures adopted. It was a forum at which complaints could be registered especially by representatives of tenants living in overspill estates. At the same time councillors, especially Conservative members none of whom lived in council houses or estates (Figs. 5.8(a) and (b)), were being told at first hand about the difficulties of their tenants in and outside the city.

The chairman of the housing committee, assisted by senior officials, also took the initiative on at least two occasions to arrange meetings of the J.C.B. for the sole purpose of explaining and justifying rent increases. Thus tenant representatives were not consulted over major housing issues *before* such decisions had been made. They were merely given a 'preview' in the hope that by hearing at first hand the constraints - increased interest charges and a

reduction in central government grants - any opposition would be muted. Thus the J.C.B. was being used as an agency of policy justification not modification and thereby as essentially as a management technique. Labour Party councillors who comprised a minority of elected members on the J.C.B. argued in vain for an increase in the scope of the issues to be discussed though not in the powers of the committee. They were not in a position, that is, to radically alter the rôle which the J.C.B. played.

In contrast to both the J.C.B. and G.I.A. residents' committees, direct consultation between parents and the L.E.A. over educational changes in the city were characterised by more ad hoc, short-term arrangements. In 1974, Hampshire County Council as the education authority set up a series of permanent, district based, area advisory committees. The Portsmouth A.A.C. membership comprised mainly county and city councillors, governors, teachers and pupils' representatives. Since the mid 1970s the county, and notably the schools' sub-committee, has periodically sought the advice of the P.A.C.C. over changes in curriculum, the structure of schools and changes in the city's education system. The area office mounted a consultation exercise when the county education office decided to rationalise the provision of 6th form education in Portsmouth.

This consultation consisted initially of a series of public meetings with parents, and private gatherings with governors and teachers. A full range of graphic illustrations were made use of to portray the declining intakes and numbers in 6th forms in the city's state schools. The area education officer and her staff explained the options available to audiences displaying varying degrees of reluctance to consider any change so soon after comprehensive reorganisation in the 1970s. Following these initial meetings a postal ballot was arranged in two stages. The first ballot was constituted in such a way that it secured a narrow mandate for creating a 6th form college. This was achieved by taking every opportunity to stress the need for change. The benefits of creating a college were also emphasised throughout. County and local officials then faced the problem of which secondary school should be chosen as the new site for 6th form provision for all but children attending private and church controlled schools. They

again decided to give the public the opportunity to express their views, but narrowed the alternatives down to three schools. Although parents may have assumed that their votes would decide the issue it was soon clear that some influential senior Conservative councillors were unwilling to accept the voice of the majority which favoured Mayfield School. Had their been a larger majority in a higher poll they may have paid less attention to the vociferous demands of Mayfield parents which were made for the most part outside the formal consultation process. The P.A.A.C. took the consultation exercise seriously and accepted its results. Some Portsmouth Conservative county councillors including the chairman of the P.A.A.C. however chose *not* to follow the option which was favoured by a majority of parents, and most teachers and governors.

Support for the 6th form college idea was thus mobilised by the officials, and consultation manipulated by a couple of influential councillors. For their part the public were given carefully vetted information about the problems and possibilities of 6th form provision, and were given two opportunities to record their choices and comments. For some - notably the parents of children in the Great Salterns catchment area - the whole exercise proved a dubious and double-handed experience. Here then we can conclude that although the function of this exercise in participation was consultation over policy - which kind of 6th form provision should be made, and at which site - in practice the options were manipulated by officers and its direct findings ignored by councillors. This is the clearest case in this study, of participation increasing the power of the authorities by giving them what Richardson calls a 'spurious legitimacy' (Richardson 1983, p. 66). Thus it could be claimed that the public were consulted even though their views did not prevail.

Finally the way in which both the statutory and non-statutory consultation over the formulation of traffic regulation orders was organised by the officials in the city engineer's deparment illustrates the multifunctional nature of consultations. Initially it was the public often in the shape of groups such as G.I.A. committees which brought parking and traffic problems to the notice of officials and councillors. The police and other municipal agencies also played a

part in highlighting such problems. Not all problems thus raised were formulated into draft orders, but in cases where this did occur all those living in streets affected were alerted by site and public notices as to the intended orders. Furthermore detailed information of the need for an order, its provisions and its likely effect were available if members of the public called in at the civic offices. Those objecting to draft orders were given ample opportunity to record their views and arguments, and these were presented in resumé form to councillors before final decisions were made. The public whether as motorists, pedestrians or householders were given the opportunity to express their views and, during the two years, many did so; some successfully overturning or more frequently modifying the original proposals. For the road engineers this consultation was invaluable to avoid any widespread protests which might arise once the streets were being closed, circulation of traffic altered or parking restricted by yellow lines. The 'secure' backing of a neighbourhood organisation for an order was sufficient to ward off later objections provided they were limited in number. The absence of objections rather than any tangible evidence of support in the latter stages of the process was used to convince councillors that the scheme was well conceived. As Boaden et al have noted -

> 'it is difficult to dispute a highway engineer's design proposals for a particular road improvement scheme'
>
> (Boaden et al, p. 25)

In isolated cases councillors led a protest against draft orders at committee stage or even the confirmation of an order by the council. On such rare occasions elected members demonstrated to constituents that they were in touch with grassroots opinion, had taken letters of objection seriously, and had the clout to alter official schemes in their interest.

The conclusion of this section is therefore that participation and consultation is multifunctional. Whether formally organised by one of Portsmouth's municipal agencies or not, concerned only with a specific aspect of policy making at a given point in time (6th form education) or a variety of issues affecting council tenants over a

lengthy period, the evidence is that both the public and those in authority used demand-making in their own interests. The case studies reviewed indicate that officials and, to a lesser extent councillors, were the beneficiaries in the sense that consultation legitimated established policies and facilitated their implementation. But the public also managed to raise issues of concern to them and on some occasions persuaded the council to deal with them in a way which accorded with their own preferences.

(ii) Theoretical implications

In Chapter III it was argued that the search for a single theory to study all aspects of political participation and demand-making was fruitless. Thus any attempt to use a 'vindication' strategy whereby material was gathered to support one particular theoretical position was rejected in favour of theoretical pluralism. A series of theories and models were briefly outlined and their relevance to one or several of the themes being studied was suggested (Fig. 3.1). A 'multi-layered' approach to ordering and synthesising different theories was also referred to. These two perspectives are maintained here. Thus although the research has been undertaken mainly within a managerialist and locational framework the findings do not have to be interpreted within the parameters of any one theoretical fiat. The difficulties of both explaining patterns and inferring elusive processes has been tackled on the basis of a number of concepts rather than those imposed by any *one* theory. Of course it is accepted that selecting and adopting elements of a range of paradigms has its dangers. Fincher, for example, has firmly rejected the idea that -

> 'some Marxian ideas are useful and may be grafted onto other modes of analysis without requiring the whole Marxist package'
>
> (Fincher 1983, p. 607)

The point is taken, but if there are dangers of epistemological inconsistency in eclectism these are no worse than the inherent weaknesses of a-priori theory. Any attempt to link theory to empirical data is problematic and this is true for a study which investigates the relations between citizens and a local authority.

Jones (1983) has alerted us to the fact that the gap between theory and data is bridged by what he calls 'just-so stories' and 'grand leaps of faith' - particularly in work which is theoretically narrow. 'Just-so stories' refer to illustrations which are consistent with a particular theory but are also consistent with other plausible explanations. They are hurled back and forth by contending theorists who will latch onto any findings which support their thesis. Alternatively the links between theory and facts are often so tenuous that 'grand leaps of faith' are required to bridge the gap.

As already noted for example with respect to the 6th form reorganisation (Chapter IX, vii) several theoretical spectacles need to be worn (though not at the same time) to see, read, and understand who participates how, when, where, why, and to what effect, in any one British city. Not *one* but several theoretical torches should be shone into the black box of the local political system if the characteristics and functions of public consultation are to be revealed. Marxist analysis may show up structural constraints which are to be found beneath levels of surface appearances. Locational theory may reach the parts which are not revealed by the managerialist perspective.

Figure 11.2 sets out the multi-layered interactive framework to which empirical findings will be related and from which theoretical conclusions drawn. The theories have been grouped into *three* categories - structural, institutional and individual. They are not mutually exclusive and the lower levels may be visualised as being subsumed within the framework of the higher ones. Individual behaviour and action is constrained by organisational and institutional interactions and these in turn are influenced (some would say determined) by the broader political economy. The three levels of analysis proposed represent different types of analysis, comprise contrasted theoretical bases, and are focused on varied units of analysis and processes. In the right-hand columns selected findings have been singled out by way of exemplification. The aim of this section is to discuss the different theories in relation to the main findings of the case study. Elements of managerialist, behavioural and locational theory will be clarified and developed because it is clear that the bulk of the empirical analysis has been conducted under

Level	Type	Theories	Units of analysis	Processes and Interactions	Examples of significant findings in relation to participation in Portsmouth
Macro	Structural	Marxist	The local state.	Political participation only encouraged when it did not clash with need for the local state to foster accumulation of private capital. Class conflict.	Buckland lost the issue of Hinchley Engineering Company re-location. Deputations by trade unions were unsuccessful.
Meso	Institutional	Managerialist	Portsmouth City and Hampshire Councils Planning Department (Environmental improvement section), Housing Department, Area Education Office, G.I.A. residents' committees.	Local municipal agencies mediating central government guidelines. Individual actions of officers constrained by departmental procedures.	Public participation managed to make plans and proposals acceptable. Cost of acceding to demands crucial.
Micro	Individual	Public goods and Behavioural	Senior officers and councillors. Chairmen and members of G.I.A. residents' committees. Individual members of the public.	Individual ward councillors protecting their wards (porkbarrelling). Location specific threats stimulating political activism.	Councillors Hale and Juniper moved 6th form college to Great Salterns School. Councillor Marshall decided Henderson Road caravan tenants should win. Individual members of the public objected to the proposal that hostels should be located near them.

Figure 11.2 Levels of analysis

the aegis of the two lower levels in the framework. An attempt will also be made to stress what insights have been gained from each paradigm. This 'umbrella' framework will be discussed further at the end of this concluding section but one point relating to locational theory should be clarified at this stage. The absence of locational theory from the model does not mean that it has no relevance; rather that the spatial perspective is potentially applicable throughout, and certainly at the institutional and individual levels. This point has been made forcibly by Pickvance - 'spatial proximity gives rise to issues for institutions as well as individuals' (Pickvance, 1985, p. 38). In theory it may be grafted onto any or all levels of analysis although in practice in this section it has been mainly shown to be of relevance at the micro level.

(a) Individual based explanations

The essence of the public goods theory in relation to political participation is that many individuals will feel that their involvement over particular issues is not crucial to the success of any campaign or public consultation exercise because they will benefit, regardless of whether they participated or not, from any victories. Participation will only occur when the benefits offset the costs. This dilemma faces leaders of protest groups or neighbourhood organisations, and indeed those in authority who are anxious to promote public consultation. Furthermore in neighbourhoods where costs of participation are greater and likelihood of achieving success more remote it is considered that levels of participation will be lower.

It has been established that in some instances the public in Portsmouth were indeed reluctant to take part in politics at and between elections. They had to be persuaded to register; a majority did not bother to vote in all but national elections; neighbourhood associations did not exist in many localities of the city; and most tenant associations waxed and waned in their attendance at the J.C.B.; G.I.A. residents' committees underwent a fairly rapid turnover of membership; parents abstained in huge numbers from a carefully planned exercise in consultation over changes in 6th form education; only a small proportion of those potentially affected by planning applications and traffic regulation orders actually objected. People in poor neighbourhoods

such as Portsea, certainly did not participate fully in *collective* political action. This may indeed have been because -

> 'the nature of the environment they have to cope with forces them to spend most of their resources on non-political activities. The poor ... face a daily struggle to provide the bare minimum for sheer survival. Because of this fact of life they are unable to afford the luxury of engaging in political activities which only promise to yield results in the future.'
>
> (O'Brien 1975, p. 20)

They may see individual participation as less demanding and more effective (contacting was certainly in evidence in the inner city). Furthermore those modes of participation and types of consultation which the public did respond wholeheartedly, and in large numbers, does seem to have been those such as petitioning, returning questionnaires in G.I.A.s which required little effort. This is of course only indirect evidence. When respondents in Southsea were asked, many claimed to have been actively involved. Amongst the reasons cited why some did not participate over issues which vexed them was the time factor, and the fact that their efforts would not make much difference to the outcome (Fig. 6.12). A few did say however that they participated out of a sense of duty.

On the other hand the public goods theory underestimates the fact that inducements and incentives to collective participation can and have in Portsmouth been offered by authorities. For example G.I.A. residents' committees were accorded legitimacy and actual powers of decision making. Councillors and officers were also in attendance to provide information and advice. It was worth it for residents to thus attend meetings. Furthermore appeals were made to the self interest of G.I.A. residents insofar as their personal interests were, it was stressed, at stake. Finally street representatives and the small cohesive size of G.I.A.s meant that face-to-face relations existed - all this was conducive to returning questionnaires and commenting on environmental improvement schemes. When groups and organisations were listened to, helped, informed and allowed to share in decision making the benefits of participation seem to have offset the costs for some at least, e.g. the 'stalwarts' in G.I.A.s.

Behavioural models stress the processes through which an individual member of the public goes in deciding if, when, how, and to whom demands are made. The Southsea survey findings shed some light on the efficacy of this perspective. Certainly evidence has been provided that certain types of amenity issues provoked residents into political action but that not all problems were taken up (Fig. 6.12). As Cornelius (1974) has rightly suggested there are a number of reasons why perceived problems are not automatically translated into demands or complaints. However he and others may have underestimated the extent to which any participant's involvement is channelled and constrained by who he or she thinks is responsible for the problem and the likelihood that trying to do something about it will be futile or will bear fruit. Attitudes expressed in the survey and in comments written into the reply slips in the 6th form consultation show that how the authority is perceived in terms of its motives and responsiveness are deemed to be important.

What about locational theory and individual political behaviour? A fresh incentive to resolve the question as to whether, and in what way, the built environment and relative location influence political participation and demand-making has resulted from recent comments made by Pickvance(1985). Quoting Cox and Johnston (1982), he argues that spatial location gives rise to interests in the micro-environment, since neighbourhood amenity has such a bearing on living conditions -

> 'It is not being claimed that spatial proximity has mechanical effects on social life irrespective of people's social attributes, but, like technology or any other material aspect of society, it is a condition to which individuals and groups respond.'
>
> (Pickvance, p. 38)

Certainly ample evidence has been produced that much of what happens between elections politically in the city revolves around amenity issues many of which are location specific. In many cases - and most directly exemplified by the objections which were made to the proposed hostels in Southsea - it is indeed those who live closest to a perceived threat who protest (Chapter V, (iv)(b)). They do so, in part, by virtue of the residential location. They see (by means of site notices in the

case of traffic regulations and planning applications for example) and hear about the threat, possibly from their neighbours. In many instances it is they who have the most to lose in terms of disamenity and possible loss of value of their property. It has also been demonstrated that saliency to a given issue is not only a factor of distance from it. For one thing people do not spend all their lives at home. It is possible that many of those who objected to an adult cinema being established in the city centre not only did so on moral grounds but also because they shopped in the Commercial Road precinct or passed the site, daily, on their way to the naval base. It has also been shown, and noted above, that whether or not individuals take political action is also a factor of whether or not procedures for participation and consultation exist, and how sensitively they are implemented. Having said all that it is clear that in a multitude of places in this study those who live close to a perceived threat and see themselves as being directly adversely affected signed petitions; objected to planning applications; spoke as deputations to the city council; organised protests; commented on G.I.A. environmental schemes or traffic orders affecting them; and attended public meetings and completed ballot slips over secondary education. Goldsmith's comments (1980) on the locational specifity of political concerns, and Paddison's view that

> 'most demands tend to concern specific matters that lie ..... directly within the citizen's immediate residence rather than more general issues relating to service provision within either the neighbourhood or the city at large'
>
> (Paddison 1983, p. 197)

are confirmed. On the other hand precious little material has been found to confirm the existence of a 'neighbourhood effect'. Some Southsea respondents did claim to have discussed local issues with neighbours (but also family and friends), but otherwise it can only be conjecture to suggest that individual members of the public were influenced by the norms of the locality in which they lived in whether or not they voted and for which party; complained to the environmental health department; organised or signed a petition; joined a political party or local pressure group; attended public meetings organised by the local authority or wrote letters of objection over draft traffic orders. In the case of court action by council tenants the tactic was

first used (successfully) in Somerstown and later copied by the tenants' association in Portsdown Park at the other end of the city! In the absence of hard evidence it must *not* be assumed that the neighbourhood per se was a significant reference group to individual or collective political demand-making.

Clearly the analysis of the rôles played by elected members and professional officers straddles the boundary of the individual/ institutional based levels. Whilst individual officers and councillors were also members of organisations and subject to their pressures and constraints they also acted as individuals. On certain notable occasions key personalities seem to have significantly influenced what happened. For example, alterations in certain traffic orders, methods of consultation in G.I.A.s, the choice of Great Salterns School as the site for a 6th form college, and the limitations placed on the scope of issues discussed at the J.C.B. all bore the stamp of certain influential Conservative councillors - usually the most senior ones on the council. In some cases councillors were influencing events *in the interests of their wards*, i.e. indulging in a geographical process referred to by Hoare (1983) as porkbarrelling.

(b) Institutionalised based explanations

Local political processes are it has been suggested by Sharpe and Newton (1984), analogous to the baking process. This analogy seems apt in relation to the management of public consultation and the responses to political demand-making. If it is the case that the master baker and his staff play a major part in making whatever bread is produced it is also true that they are themselves beholden to the enterprise which employs them and dependent on it for instructions and resources. Individuals be they councillors, officers or members of the public do not operate in a vacuum. They too belong to political parties, and municipal bureaucracies, and according to managerialist and organisation theory, their actions are constrained by institutional structures and processes. These organisations have their own pervasive ethos and well established modes of conduct. Departments of the city council, for example, have their own internal hierarchical structure and decision rules which affects how they respond to complaints and demands from the public. Finally it is argued that these 'gatekeepers'

in municipal allocation will protect the interests of their own organisations in who they allow to participate, how, and to what effect. The evidence from this case study which sheds light on this approach is mainly to be found in those sections concerned with the respective rôles of officers and councillors and the *functions* of participation and consultation.

In all the chapters in the second part of the study and virtually every section therein it has been argued that whatever benefits the public have obtained from demand-making both direct and indirect participation has been managed and used, particularly by officials. In some cases the interests of the public and the city council have been 'congruent or overlapping' (Richardson 1983, p. 80). For example in G.I.A.s improvements in the infrastructure enhanced the amenity of residents *and* ensured resources for the departments concerned. In others those representing the local authority have worked in unison. For example, it was in the interests of, and at the insistence of, both officers and councillors that standing orders were altered to effect the discontinuation of the procedure and allowing deputations to address council meetings (Chapter V, Section (v)(f)).

Insofar as managerialist theory stresses that much of what went on in Portsmouth during this period under the guise of public consultation was designed to and had the effect of ensuring that the aims of several city council departments prevailed (so far as possible with the stamp of public approval), it has been vindicated. It has also been demonstrated that in such cases where demands from the public did not violate major municipal commitments their chances of success were considerably enhanced. In addition, whether by accident or design (certainly the latter in the case of the J.C.B.) it is clear that public involvement was steered away from major issues of resource allocation (Chapter VIII, Section (vi)). The findings of Saunders in Croydon and his criticism of the pluralist case seems apposite in this context. He found that only minor concessions were given in response to protests and makes reference to the -

> 'political crumbs strewn carelessly about by an elite with its hands clasped firmly around the cake'
>
> (Saunders 1979, pp 30-31)

What this case study has shown is that all demands are heard and certain ones heeded because it suits the local authority to respond in this way. Symbolic responses cost little and build up support, and those demands which neither undermine existing commitments nor upset established procedures and rules are sometimes accorded a tangible outcome. The managerialist thesis must also be modified to take account of the proof that has been furnished here with respect to how local authority departments develop their own brand of institutional participation largely independent of each other. Chapter VI described the process whereby, from a faltering start in Stamshaw, G.I.A. consultation developed into a situation of continuous involvement, and minor power sharing. Little of this was a direct product of central government legislation or guidance. Likewise the J.C.B. was created, in part to redress the lack of representation on the part of tenants in overspill estates and was also modified albeit marginally in response to official pressure (Chapter VIII, Sections (ii) and (viii)). In addition channels of participation over traffic, planning, and educational issues were established not only within the parameters laid down by national legislation but also as a result of departmental initiatives. Certain structures and procedures also reflected the values of the political party controlling the city and county councils. Pleas that deputations should continue to be permitted at council meetings and the J.C.B. be strengthened made by minority party councillors were snuffed out by the controlling Conservative group enforced by the party whip. Otherwise the outcomes of public demands in relation to distributional decisions reflected departmental goals and policies - shown in the examples of planning applications, school rationalisation, and traffic regulation orders. But, in addition, major resource allocations, for example the budgetary process, were entirely dominated by departmental interests and almost wholly immune from any popular pressure.

The insights to be gained from attempting to fuse the locational perspective with the managerialist thesis discussed in this section are, on the basis of this empirical research at least, limited. What should be noted, however, is the tendency for different departments to protect not only their resource base, by for example, ensuring that they get their fair share of the cake when capital and revenue expenditure is being finalised, but also defending their *spatial domains*. Although

of course municipal bureaucracies are divided vertically along functional lines they do have areas within the city over which they have some de facto control and influence (Chapter II, Section (g)). It has been seen that a considerable amount of inter-departmental collaboration does in fact occur, for example, in G.I.A. and J.C.B. meetings. But nonetheless specific departments do also appear to operate intensively in and, in a sense, control what goes on in certain neighbourhoods and land uses. Thus G.I.A.s are very much the province of one section of the planning department (maps of its 'territory' are to be seen in profusion on its walls); council estates within the province of the housing department; schools under the sovereignty of the L.E.A., or its area office; and highways the roosts of road engineers. Certainly tensions arise between these organisations and these sometimes take the form of locational conflicts. The best example being the case of the Wimbledon Park sports centre over which the leisure services and the planning departments had a prolonged dispute. As Goldsmith (1982) has noted with respect to an explanation of the patterns in the distribution of public goods and services, it is the activities of local authority agencies (and occasionally individuals in Portsmouth) and not geographical variables per se which mainly determine the outcomes of the political participation that has been studied. In other words space or geography as an independent explanatory variable is more relevant to understanding the causes rather than consequences of demand-making. There are several authors who have argued that the traditional managerialist thesis in itself is inadequate and has to be augmented by the broader and deeper insights to be gained from a structural approach (Williams 1982; Leonard 1982).

(c) Structural based explanations

To those who subscribe to a structural approach the above approaches are fundamentally descriptive. They say that it is necessary to move to the underlying forces structuring individual or organisational behaviour. Thus Cox (1978) for example suggests that -

> 'capital production relations make themselves felt in the production and distribution of the living place. The housing market therefore, whether residents like it or not imposes a unity on seemingly heterogeneous events at very different geographical locations.'
>
> (Cox 1978, pp. 13-14)

The political economy approach suggests that the local state will manage the city in order to reproduce the conditions within which capital accumulation can take place. The potential for class conflict will be displaced and defused by certain forms of local political participation and consultation. Workplace struggles will be separated from home based consumption struggles, and divisions within the urban working class will be fostered. In Portsmouth it was certainly true that the demands of organisations like the Trades Council and the Labour Party are given short shrift. For example their deputations to the city council were rebuffed. The political fragmentation of the working class in Portsmouth is also evident. Individual council estates were represented on the J.C.B.; G.I.A. residents' committees were by their very nature area specific, consultation over 6th form education was focused on specific schools. Thus the working class population was segmented on the basis of where it lived and which service it was consuming. As Harris has noted, the precise impact on class consciousness of this fragmentation is unclear but it is unlikely to have enhanced political mobilisation on the basis of broader class interests (Harris 1984). Urban social movements of the type envisaged by Castells, i.e. groups which contest conflicts involving issues of collective consumption (social facilities and services provided by the state within the context of class struggle) are few and far between in the Portsmouth case study. The Bus Action Group did try to campaign against the price increases and cut backs in local bus services and certain tenant associations attempted to question some of the premises which determined the policies of the housing department but they were not given any encouragement in such activities and their demands were not successful.

If it is accepted that consumption issues do represent a new terrain for class struggle then, whatever the shortcomings in the institutional channels for participation, the key question is what happened to working class demands especially when they conflicted with those which represented the interests of capital. In Southsea some manual workers claimed to have won minor concessions from the city council. A substantial number of protest groups from predominantly working class, inner city council housing areas did make certain gains particularly over locational issues. But although working class demands

were successful in some cases it still remained the case that when the interests of residents clashed with those of the city council's backing for industrial development it was a different story. The Buckland residents association fought long and hard in their campaign to resist the location of a new factory for Hinchley Engineering Company on the edge of their estate. (Its parent company, the Dutch multinational Phillips, had threatened to close its operations in the city altogether if it was not given a convenient site near to its existing factory). Although landscaping was increased around the new factory it was built despite the protests from the local, predominantly working class, community. In cases where deputations of residents were opposed by those representing developers (Fig. 5.15(i)) it was the latter who won. Trade unions lost on every occasion they presented demands in the form of deputations to the city council.

Thus while working class demands were expressed in Portsmouth and occasionally won minor concessions from the city council, broader, city-wide, political action was not encouraged and when demands were made they did not make any significant impact. Local and non-local business interests whose control of jobs, development and rate contribution gave them a powerful influence with the city council seem to have benefited from this situation.

Furthermore certain issues such as 6th form rationalisation; the renovation of high rise blocks; the construction of the North/South road; rent rises for council tenants; the sale of council houses; cut backs in the public health provision; all may be interpreted as reflecting the rôle of the city and county councils as fostering privatisation and capital accumulation. On such issues the local authority departments concerned (in response to pressure from central government or on their own initiative) acted in the interests of those who owned or managed capital. Those purporting to represent labour either were not consulted, or if they were, their weak and fragmented voice was barely heard. While as residents and consumers working class people did participate and were consulted this was limited to the issues relating to scale of experience of everyday life, notably threats to amenity. Such 'parochial' participation did achieve concessions, but not ones which in any way threatened the status quo.

In the meantime selected municipal services were privatised; numerous private homes for the elderly were built, a B.U.P.A. hospital was constructed in Havant, and a D-Day museum was set up at a cost of over one million pounds; the Falklands taskforce sailed from and jubilantly returned to Portsmouth Harbour; the assisted places scheme to private schools in the city further depleted comprehensive schools and made the rationalisation of 6th forms inevitable; public sector house building reached a standstill despite a waiting list of several thousands; the Metal Box company contracted its local factory, and, although I.B.M. and Marconi increased their payrolls, the total number of people registered as unemployed in the city rose to over 11,500.

Figure 11.2 represents an attempt to inject some coherence into the theoretical aspects of the case study. Certain key elements of different theories have been reiterated, and insights suggested and modifications proposed. The major conclusion that must be drawn from the above analysis is that participation and consultation can be best 'explained' by reference to managerialist theory. The finger prints of municipal departments are clearly imprinted on the gates through which the public in Portsmouth must pass. Some gates are open wider than others and for a more varied range of demand-making. But at the end of the day the flow of demands and what happens to them when they enter the political arena of the Guildhall is determined by a relatively small group of officials and councillors. These gatekeepers are subjected to constaints and opportunities of their own organisations.

The built environment of the city in generating issues, and relative location in being instrumental in fostering the participation of some individuals rather than others, are both significant. However the high rate of participation in G.I.A.s, for example, is not so much the consequence of the physical or social composition of these areas per se as a product of the sustained efforts of local planning staff. Thus even patterns of participation are more a product of politics rather than geography. This does not mean of course that locational models were not relevant in this study, rather that great care must be taken to discern at which level, and in which processes and patterns, they are applicable.

All sorts of participation did occur in Portsmouth in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Literally thousands of people of different backgrounds and from all neighbourhoods initiated political action, and also availed themselves of the institutional channels of consultation available. In a sense therefore pluralist theory has been vindicated especially since all demands were given a symbolic response and many had a tangible, albeit minor, impact. On the other hand, there is firm evidence that an élitist interpretation is even more applicable given the fact that a small group of councillors and officers played so dominant a rôle in the process. This dichotomy will resurface in the following section which considers what practical steps can be suggested to enhance the efficacy of participation in the city.

(iii) Practical applications

It is worth reiterating selected findings and conclusions which have some bearing on the task of making participation more effective. First, the statement made by Lowe that -

> 'confronted by a ready made system of decision making and administration under impregnable party control the range of strategies for expressing grievances and influencing the policy making machinery is restricted'
>
> (Lowe 1977, p.127)

is certainly not true of Portsmouth. It has been demonstrated that a broad mix of channels which encourage consultation and permit demand-making do exist. Also that many members of the public individually and collectively do participate - see Chapter V (ix) - though not always successfully from their point of view. Secondly, Stewart is largely correct when he maintains that public consultation is -

> 'timetabled and managed according to the requirements of the local authority and on terms dictated by it'
>
> (Stewart 1983, p. 132)

In Portsmouth although ad hoc, uncontrolled, spontaneous public involvement, petitioning by protest groups was and is a feature of the political life of the city, a great deal of participation was

expressed through legally sanctioned and officially recognised channels. Thus when pressure was exerted it was mostly under the aegis of consultation exercises - over 6th form provision, in G.I.A.s, in relation to traffic regulation orders and through the J.C.B. Protests which operated outside that framework were also tolerated and as has been seen did sometimes register minor victories.

If demand-making is controlled by official structures and procedures then who is it that determines what these are like, and how they work? In Portsmouth it has been established that the local administration is under Conservative Party control at city and county levels, and that in some issues senior Conservative councillors had ~~a~~ major say over what happened. Nonetheless for the most part the record shows that a large part of the everyday routine organisation of public consultation and the task of responding to their demands is undertaken by officials.

It has been shown that it was a concern to defend and improve the quality of the local environment which fueled public mobilisation. Whether the public were responding to consultation over proposed changes being initiated by the authority, or themselves taking the initiative, it was local living space issues which dominated the agenda. Their views were rarely sought or given on broader, and longer term policies and allocations. The sorts of threats which mobilised the public were those which could be easily perceived, i.e. location specific changes, or ones about which ample warning was given by the authorities (by means of site notices, public announcements or letters). With respect to *certain* services and for *certain* geographical areas, institutional channels and procedures clearly enhanced participation over local issues. In contrast, in Southsea some issues which annoyed and upset local residents were not taken up with the authorities. This was either because it was thought that they could or would not be resolved by the city council or an appropriate vehicle or target for demand-making was thought to be lacking. These are significant findings as are the conclusions that levels of participation vary spatially and also between different consultation exercises. The latter point is most starkly illustrated by the contrast between the wholehearted response generated in G.I.A.s (Chapter VII, Section (iv)

and (vi) (a),(b),(c) and (f)), and the paltry volume of reply slips that were returned over 6th form provision (Chapter IX, Sections (iv) and (v)). Some zones of the city were more demanding than others, but no one sort of neighbourhood was found to participate in all modes or none at all.

Also of practical significance is the question of who in the local authority has pre-eminent influence over the success or failure of individual or group participatory efforts? The answer seems to be that it is senior and middle ranking officers and, in cases where issues are overtly political or involve conflict, senior councillors of the majority party. Whereas councillors had very little say over how G.I.A. environmental improvement schemes or traffic regulation orders were formulated (although they were ratified by the appropriate committee) in the case of 6th form provision the issue was influenced - contrary to expressed views of the public and the preferences of the education administrators - by a few influential county councillors.

Another significant conclusion is that *neither* demands made through formal channels nor those using 'the outsider' track, were invariably successful. Who made demands, how, and when was not so important as the cost of acceding to the wishes of the public and whether or not what was demanded threatened the established policies and commitments of the council. Demands which required only minor changes and cost little were more often successful. Councillors and officers perceived the public interest in city-wide terms and they were as Stewart has noted -

> 'reluctant to see public participation in particular geographical areas challenge the uniformities of authority wide policies'
>
> (Stewart 1983, p. 132)

In Portsmouth in the late 1970s and early 1980s political participation has been shown to have performed several functions. It certainly was not *only* undertaken to satisfy a legal obligation, used as a strategy to avoid conflict or a means of obtaining endorsement of what officials or politicians had already decided, or even a device to gain public understanding of the problems faced by local authorities.

While it was used by those in authority in all these ways at the same time it also afforded local people an opportunity to express their views and preferences and exert pressure upon those making decisions. In other words it was both a political and a management process. But it is also clear that what was going on was political communication and consultation and *not* power sharing. The only exception was the case of G.I.A. residents' committees who had a veto over their environmental improvement schemes. Neither parents, residents (in G.I.A.s or streets affected by traffic management schemes), or tenants actually were part of any authoritative decision-making body. There was little or no penetration on the part of the public of local power structures although over some issues - more than was anticipated - they were able to inform and successfully persuade councillors and officials. Thus a 'one dimensional view' of the rôle played by participation is misconceived. It was both used and even manipulated by those in authority *and* useful to the public.

Given the balance of power as between those in local authority (councillors and officials) and the public; the multifunctional nature of consultation; and the record of actual and self reported participation in the city, then what proposals can be made to enhance the effectiveness of demand-making from the viewpoint of the public in Portsmouth and elsewhere? How can the local institutions and procedures of consultation and demand-making be strengthened? How can communications between the public and those in the civic offices be improved? How can the public not only be given a fair hearing - as they to a large extent are at the present - but also gain more influence over decision making? How can the obstacles to political activism be removed? How can those living in a given locality who are likely to be affected by a proposal be adequately informed about plans and proposals? How can the public not only have a say in determining the distribution of facilities but also resource allocation? Should officially backed neighbourhood councils be set up in all localities? Do structures and processes in Portsmouth need to be marginally or drastically altered? As Richardson has noted there is unlikely to be a consensus on questions of the most appropriate structure of participative arrangements. These are also 'practical headaches which anyone charged with devising participation arrangements or improving existing ones must face' (Richardson, 1983,

p. 49). Furthermore the same author rightly points out that the arrangements for participation, the structures established will both reflect and determine the distribution of power between consumers and service providers, although 'there is no means by which either group can ensure that they will get their way' (p. 95).

The objective of this concluding section is not to provide a Portsmouth participation instruction manual. Rather the aim is to review the merits and demerits of the existing local arrangements and answer at least some of the above questions by suggesting solutions which 'make sense when accompanied by realistic scenarios possibly based in local community circumstances' (Parry and Moyser 1984, p. 88). It is to ensure that those who are affected by municipal decisions are at least involved in a meaningful way in the process, and preferably have some influence over municipal outputs. Before embarking on this exercise however several general points should be borne in mind. First, there is no easy panacea to satisfy all sides with respect to all issues - more likely a mix of different structures and procedures are required, for example for different service areas. Secondly it is neither possible nor desirable to consult every individual or group on every issue, all the time, for many members of the public are only sporadic participants (Dowse and Hughes 1971). Thirdly, any changes are likely to have to be implemented over a period of time because unrestrained or ill-considered participatory proposals may be disfunctional. Furthermore councillors are likely to be unwilling to accept graciously any new machinery which will result in a diminution of their own powers (or officers in their influence) unless they too may benefit in some way. Collins puts it as follows -

> 'If municipal elected representatives are realistically expected to finance, support, and use public participation even in part, it must clearly not threaten their position.'
>
> (Collins 1978, p. 44)

It may be that incremental changes - that can be grafted onto existing structures and procedures - would be more acceptable to key elected members and hard pressed officers who have a stake in, and are familiar with, existing arrangements.

These points notwithstanding proposals are outlined to *either* give the public a greater opportunity to communicate their views and press their demands on the local authority and/or a share in decision-making.

The first scenario comprises a set of minimalist, incremental proposals which would build on the best features of what has been done in Portsmouth in recent years. This includes the commendable features of, for example, consultation over G.I.A. environmental schemes and road traffic orders. It is based on the assumption that public involvement is, at best, partial, sporadic, localised, and confined to consultation and the exchange of information. The dominance of councillors and officials would remain unchallenged. This incrementalist scenario envisages better information being provided to enable more members of the public to make more informed demands. Site and public notices in the local newspaper tend to be formal, brief and laced with legal terminology. They communicate the fact that something may happen but provide little information about the precise nature of the proposal and its likely impact (positive and negative). Henig argues that -

> 'Stricter notification requirements should require a full description of potential uses as well as the background information regarding property owners, plans to sell, interested buyers and possible positive and negative neighbourhood impacts. Where major changes are involved, public hearings in the neighbourhood, during evening hours to maximise access should be required.'
>
> (Henig 1982, p. 235)

Portsmouth's A.B.C. leaflet - useful though it undoubtedly is - should be published annually and enlarged in scope; it was only read by 20% of the Southsea sample; and mini leaflets should be distributed in neighbourhoods which are reliant on particular municipal services or to be affected by proposals. Site notices should be bolder and more detailed and if feasible contain a simplified map and detailed description of the proposals. (Spatial awareness is not an attribute which is commonly found in the public). If the local newspaper (which 75% of Southsea respondents claim to read) is unwilling to increase the space it provides free to announce planning applications then the council should take the initiative and buy more space. The council's own quarterly newspaper 'Today' which, while it existed, was essentially

a public relations publication should be resurrected, and its columns used for announcing future options rather than past decisions. A 'neighbour notification scheme' should be initiated whereby details of planning applications, proposed changes in service delivery, and the planned closure of facilities would be outlined in a leaflet put through the doors of those likely to be affected. This was a policy favoured by respondents in the MORI survey conducted in Southwark. Publicity leaflets relating to city-wide issues should be *targeted* more specifically in terms of both user and geographical focus, for example, proposed changes in bus services should be advertised in neighbourhoods using the services. Traffic schemes should be publicised in those streets directly and indirectly affected. Thus it is not just a question of who needs what information as Mobbs (1984) has suggested but also *when* and *where*. When parents are being invited to express their views about changes in educational provision and school closures, letters sent via pupils should be accompanied by a tear-off slip which is to be signed by a parent on receipt of the communication (this practice is adopted in the case of school reports in the city's schools and would reduce the number of letters 'lost' by children). Chapter IX also showed that there is considerable room for improvement in the design and delivery of consultation material. Not only was it not clear who was being consulted, and why, but the actual background notes (useful but biased) and options were not set out to maximum effect.

As well as improved information, greater care needs to be given to the venue of meetings. Most modes of participation involve a journey - for instance to a polling station to vote; to the civic offices to consult with an official over a road proposal; to the Guildhall to speak as a deputation at a committee meeting; to the local church hall or school to attend a G.I.A. residents' committee meeting. Costs in terms of money, time, and inconvenience are incurred and care should be made to localise the point of participation when feasible. This is particularly true of peripheral neighbourhoods such as Paulsgrove where rates of car ownership are lower, and in localities where there are many elderly people or single parent families. Easy and equal geographical access should be the rule. There are suitable premises in all neighbourhoods in the city and in the authority's estates in the Borough of Havant, and these could be hired without

incurring exorbitant expense. The larger ones could even be used to hold meetings of the city council or its committees. This is already done by some authorities (Coleman 1984).

The time of day chosen for specific participatory events to take place is also important as well as conceivably the week or season. G.I.A. and J.C.B. meetings are invariably held at 7.30 p.m. when street representatives will have returned from work and had a meal. Otherwise council and committee meetings are held during the day when people are unable or reluctant to get time off work. To all but the retired, unemployed, self-employed, such day time events are far from ideal. A few more evening or weekend meetings might encourage those who wish to attend to do so. Although some councillors hold regular surgeries at convenient times, paid officials are not so readily accessible. Flexitime arrangements would not seem to preclude a late evening opening session when officials were available for consultation. Certainly the flexible and sustained consultation evident in the G.I.A.s provides a useful model in this respect.

> 'There are times of the year, of the week, of the evening and there are particular locations which are inviting to the audience; others will keep it at bay.'
>
> (Boaden et al 1982, p. 65-66)

If those in authority are really serious about involving the public they should show more sensitivity with respect to time and place. (It is interesting to speculate what the turnout in local elections would be if the electorate were required to travel to the Guildhall to record their vote and then only during normal working hours).

Consultation should not be restricted to specific locational issues. As already suggested broader, longer term issues should be included on the agenda for public consultation. A prime candidate is the preparation of the annual budget. Just as structure plans are open to public scrutiny and comment before being finalised so capital and revenue expenditure should be examined preferably in a series of public hearings where the overall trends and neighbourhood implications are explained and justified. At present departments divide up the budget cake between them with leaders of the controlling party fixing the

annual rate and adjudicating in the event of outstanding conflicts. In Portsmouth the public at no stage has any say in this process. Major financial decisions by individual departments should be open to scrutiny and comment by those affected. The trouble is as Ferres states -

> 'the finished programme is presented as a fait accompli as close as possible to the actual starting date and loaded with commitment - professional, political and emotional - of the officers and elected members who evolved and adopted it'
>
> (Ferres 1977, p. 166-167)

The government has ensured that local authorities tell their ratepayers about how their money is being spent but more could be done in Portsmouth and elsewhere to consult them *before* rather than after such budgetary allocations are made. Despite 'opening up' local authorities further it is doubtful if the new Freedom of Information Act will make a significant difference in this respect (Bailey R., 1984).

Given the fact that in Portsmouth the public are rarely denied a hearing, i.e. they have what demands they make taken into account and have their complaints investigated, it appears that little further need be done on that score. But the council and its representatives could show their willingness to listen to the views of the public in a more positive and imaginative way. Half an hour could be reserved at the start of the agenda of the city council meetings for the public to ask questions. (This would act as a vehicle for airing grievances). At present (following prayers) there is city councillors' question time. A public session could replace or supplement these existing arrangements and, provided some days notice was given of the questions, it would be possible for senior councillors or officials to respond to complaints and queries. Furthermore under matters arising at the following meeting the public, directly, or through their local ward councillor(s) could, given the elapse of six weeks, demand to know if anything had been done, and if not, why not. This system works well at G.I.A. residents' committee meetings and at the J.C.B. It forces officials to act within a given time period or justify their inaction. But it would also show that the council was willing to listen to those who felt strongly about certain issues or aggrieved at a particular decision or action of the authority.

By altering the procedures and processes along the lines suggested the voice of the public would be heard louder and clearer before, during and after decisions were made. The present arrangements are by no means without intrinsic merit (for example in G.I.A.s and in relation to objections to planning applications and traffic regulation orders), it is sensible, therefore, to advocate changes such as those noted above which would broaden the scope of consultation and encourage greater flexibility and sensitivity in the council's dealings with the public.

The second scenario to strengthening participatory democracy would be to establish a system of local citizen committees or neighbourhood councils with specified rights and powers. Newman (1973) argues for example that -

> 'on such occasions when locality interests are aroused ... the solution might well be to have in existence a potential organisational structure which will permit the aggregation and channelling of locality needs, as and when such occasions arise'
>
> (Newman 1973, p. 67)

Provision was made for statutory community councils in Scotland and Wales under government legislation of the 1970s. In England there are no urban neighbourhood councils equivalent in status to the parish councils which exist in many rural areas (Burnett 1976). Examples of such neighbourhood institutions are to be found in cities throughout the western world (Nanetti and Leonardi 1979, and Nanetti 1985). In Atlanta, for example, citizen committees can -

> 'recommend an action, policy or plan to the city and to any city agency on any matter affecting the livability of the neighbourhood but not limited to land use, zoning (planning), housing, community facilities, human resources, social and recreational, traffic and transportation, environmental quality; and review items for inclusion in the city budget and make recommendations relating to budget items for neighbourhood improvement.'
>
> (quoted in Hutcheson, 1984)

Many such officially backed, serviced, and financed neighbourhood initiatives have been established by English urban authorities. But in Portsmouth such a proposal (made by a minority party councillor to

the J.C.B.) in relation to council estates was rejected by the housing committee (Chapter VIII, Section (iv)).

> 'The committee felt that such a proposal would not be practical, mainly due to the lack of attendance and participation by most tenants' associations at meetings with the city council.'
>
> (Appendix for city council meeting, 14th December 1982)

The case for such locality-based groups has been made by Ferres amongst others -

> 'they can observe and reflect with a freshness of eye and singleness of mind that professionals almost inevitably lose. Many of (their members) have in their guts a kind of knowledge of the area they live in that a professional will never be able to acquire from reports ... the content of their communication must command respect.'
>
> (Ferres 1977, p. 162)

Johnston (1984) sees them as an institutional layer existing between the public and the local authority to mediate information and responses passing in both directions. He argues that they should be listened to on all matters of resident concern and accorded some status to give them legitimacy, and the formal right to be included in deliberations. There is no problem in finding suitable boundaries for their areas, and indeed Hall (1977) has mapped out 34 areas in Portsmouth which are perceived as neighbourhoods by local residents, and possess coherence and a degree of uniformity. Several neighbourhoods already have associations which operate as embryonic neighbourhood councils. Such schemes have been formulated for other British cities, for example, Sheffield by Hampton and Chapman (1971).

There are possible difficulties and drawbacks to such formalised neighbourhood councils, including the danger that they would be more easily manipulated by the local authority and tend to inhibit other spontaneous initiatives from the public. But the G.I.A. residents' committees in Portsmouth do present a model for such councils in terms of their organisation and mutually beneficial links with the authority. They do not of course cover the whole city and only last so long as environmental improvements are being made, and unless a full coverage

was achieved present inequalities in representation would be reinforced. The precise rôle of such councils would have to be negotiated but to avoid ambiguity it would have to be clearly understood at the outset.

Such a participatory infrastructure would in a sense, further the principle of corporate management at the neighbourhood level - at present it exists 'at the top' amongst chief officers. In Portsmouth with its large wards (over 10,000 electors each) and relatively small numbers of city councillors (39) and county councillors (13), neighbourhood councils would constitute a finer scale of spatial representation. Elected, or otherwise selected, neighbourhood councillors could aggregate the raw demands arising in different localities, in an independent way. Experience and expertise amongst residents would be built up to express demands over a wide range of amenity and service issues which, it has been shown, concern residents in all areas of the city. Their rights and responsibilities in decision making would have to be determined but at the very least they would be informed and consulted by the authority. They could be combined with a degree of administrative decentralisation currently in the early 1980s being undertaken in Walsall, Islington, Birmingham, and Southampton to name but a few British authorities. Spencer argues that this movement incorporates a variety of approaches aimed at -

> 'enlivening local democracy by making local government more accessible, more relevant to peoples needs and giving people more opportunity to influence services and their provision within localities'
>
> (Spencer 1973, p. 39)

Clearly the extent to which the public is involved in policy making varies from service to service and the only precedent for this scenario for enhancing participation by the public in Portsmouth is the decision-making power vested in G.I.A. residents' committees. In these areas and to a lesser extent in relation to the J.C.B. it has been shown that officers from several departments are willing and to a certain extent able to respond to amenity issues which are not restricted to one service area. In other words issues of concern to a given locality are raised and sometimes resolved despite the functional separation of departmental fiefdoms. Whether the street representative

system (Figs. 7.9 and 7.10) would work in neighbourhood councils which would inevitably have to be larger in population than G.I.A.s is debatable. But the experience in Portsmouth suggests that there are enough 'activists' around (42 per cent of the Southsea sample), and 'stalwarts' in *all* sorts of neighbourhoods to provide leadership (Figs. 7.15 and 8.4). However in Portsmouth councillors have been most unwilling to share any of their decision-making powers. As has been seen tenants' associations are sporadically consulted and merely told of major policies, and the scope for independent action on the part of G.I.A. residents' committees is constrained by the availability of funds as approved by the council and government. What is being suggested then is that not only should the minor changes incorporated in the first scenario be introduced but also that neighbourhood councils should be established and that neighbourhood councillors should be given a share in decision-making. They should be co-opted onto relevant city council committees - housing, planning, finance and transportation, as well as those at the county level. Junior officials to be seconded to service and work closely with them. They should be given pride of place in any consultation exercises involving not only minor locational decisions but major developments and plans. Such proposals might alter the rôle of elected members, though they are unlikely to diminish the dominance of political parties. They would not undermine the professional expertise or advice of full-time officers. What they might achieve would be a more open and pluralistic local government system.

(iv) Future research

In the first section of this chapter the major findings and conclusions which have emerged from a study which (1) examined patterns and processes of political participation, and (2) analysed causes, characteristics and consequences of demand-making in Portsmouth were outlined. Specifically, five topics - issues, patterns, councillors and officers, outcomes and functions - have been studied in depth. All this over a period of time which has seen major changes in the British political scene, and an extensive amount of research being undertaken in the politics of urban England. The final task is to outline, on the basis of the experience of this case study, a number of propositions with respect to future research.

In terms of data collection it has been proved that the files of local authority departments represent a rich and largely untapped lode which can, given tact and care, be exploited. Letters from the public, returned questionnaires, petitions, recommendations from officers, and memoranda from the members' room are all to be found therein, and can be abstracted provided the normal guarantees of confidentiality are given. Of course election results are readily available and voting a crucial political activity in a representative democracy. However there are enough sources of data available - council minutes, local newspaper, and the like - to enable a much wider range of modes of participation to be studied than is often realised. Much of this data is amenable to analysis by a judicious mix of cartographic, graphic and statistical methods.

The basic perspective of this study - that demand-making can be viewed essentially from public's standpoint - remains valid but it must be tempered by a clear understanding that the perspectives of those in authority differ from those of the public. As Boaden et al put it -

> 'channels of influence viewed from below are often no more than channels of support when viewed from above'
>
> (Boaden et al 1982, p. 170)

It is thus evident that expressing concern over amenity issues and pressurising those in authority to take the desired action is only one of the functions that participation serves, and there is no guarantee that outcomes are causally related to public demands. Both these two potential problems have been squarely faced. The former has been overcome by stressing the multifunctional nature of demand-making and public consultation, and the latter by inserting caveats in relations to any tangible benefits attained by political involvement. Future researchers investigating participation would be wise to rely both on 'hard' objective data *and* the subjective perceptions of all those involved.

As far as the issues generating political mobilisation are concerned there is a need for future research to grasp the complex behavioural nettle involved in explaining the links between proposed or actual changes in neighbourhood amenity and political action (or

inaction) by individuals and groups. The findings that in Portsmouth some issues are deemed to be insoluble, and that some desired solutions are thought to be contrary to council's policies are important pointers in this respect. Likewise the mechanisms which have been shown to overcome political inactivity should be studied closely. Throughout the study evidence has been produced that high level of responses from the public can be obtained under certain circumstances, usually involving considerable time and effort on the part of the local authority. The process of consultation in G.I.A.s in Portsmouth is of relevance in this respect. It has been shown that a high proportion of people enrolled, returned their questionnaires in designated G.I.A.s; many residents also signed petitions and objected to certain planning applications and appeals. On the other hand, relatively few electors voted in county and European Community elections, returned questionnaires over the 6th form issue, turned up at council meetings, and objected to draft traffic regulation orders. Some signposts have been erected in this study which should indicate future lines of enquiry as to the reasons for this uneven pattern of political response, between services and geographical areas.

Another major point to emerge from this Portsmouth case study is that even if the local political system is open to demands from the public, many major allocational decisions are immune from any significant public influence. Furthermore the level and nature of participation and attainment in demand-making differs as between different policy areas. While the views of groups of potentially affected residents are actively solicited on locational issues the public are rarely invited or permitted to intervene directly over many major city-wide issues which, despite increasing central government control, are still resolved by local authorities. Further applied research into the principles and mechanics of how the public should be consulted and given a greater say in municipal decision-making over a wide range of issues is required. In terms of *patterns* of participation it is evident that there are substantial intra-urban variations in levels of political activity. But the analysis does not show that any *one* sort of area in terms of socio-economic status, tenure, or location consistently recorded a higher volume of *all* modes of political involvement. There is a need to replicate this

areal-aggregate analysis of spatial variations in varied modes of participation in other British towns and cities to see if the conclusions reached in this study are valid elsewhere. (Piepe et al claim that Portsmouth is a politically anomalous area). It would be interesting to know, for example, if the inner areas of other British cities also register a relatively high level of political demands between elections, and if near neighbours protest in locational issues.

This study re-affirms other research findings that officers play a dominant part in the interactions between the public and the local authority. It is they who organise the questionnaires and public meetings, and respond to demands made, unless issues become highly controversial and politicised. It is their recommendations which frequently determine the outcomes of demands directed at the council and its committees. The more sporadic and marginal part played by councillors in Portsmouth may be due in part to Conservative Party dominance. In authorities where the political composition of the council is different, this may not be the case. More comparative research is required to explain the variation in the roles of the two sets of political actors.

It is clear that ambiguity exists over the part to be played by the various participants in consultation exercises in Portsmouth. Undoubtedly most members of the public who got involved in political demand-making were trying to change the council's policies and decisions in some tangible way. It has been shown that some of the time the public did get their way. However those in authority were also benefiting insofar as they were explaining themselves to the public and making their own commitments and plans more acceptable. The problem arose when the precise status and purpose of 'consultation' (e.g. that over the 6th form college) was not clear to all sides. It is up to academics who study participation to convince those in authority to be more precise about the status of any consultation exercises to be mounted. Ambiguity - however convenient - is unacceptable.

Comparative studies of involvement by residents in G.I.A. schemes, over traffic management orders, housing policies and rationalisation of

schools in an era of falling school rolls, would reveal if and how Portsmouth is distinctive from other urban local authorities. There is a wealth of voting studies in urban areas but research into non-electoral participation is not nearly so common. Concentrating on one local authority permits the nuances of political demand-making to be identified. However such demand-making in local authorities of differing social, political and geographical characteristics should be explored. If this study has set a precedent for investigations into who, when, where, why, how and to what effect the public are involved politically between elections it will have achieved its purpose.

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APPENDIX A (Chapter IV)
Ward Profiles

16 WARD PROFILES (1981 Census)

	% Professional & Managerial	% Manual (Skilled, Semi-Skilled, Unskilled)	% Unemployed	% 60/65+	% 0-14	% Owner-Occupied	% Council Rented	% 1 or 2 Car Ownership
St. Thomas	14·3	42·6	5·9	20·7	16·1	38·5	31·6	44·8
Portsea	6·8	63·9	8·1	19·6	23·6	4·9	89·9	26·6
Nelson	8·4	51·4	4·8	20·2	19·3	63·1	21·7	46·8
North-End	10·4	45·9	4·0	20·5	18·6	65	11·9	52·1
Buckland	9·3	52·9	3·9	19·7	18·4	81·1	2·2	53·8
Kingston	14·5	44	3	22·4	17·9	77·4	14·3	59·4
Highland	10·2	42·6	3·6	21·4	18·1	72·8	5·8	50·0
St. Simon	15·3	43·7	4·6	27·4	12·9	70·4	1·5	53·2
Havelock	11	46·2	4·5	24·6	15·1	74·5	2·7	45·4
St. Judes	19·8	35	6·6	25·0	9·9	44·6	1·3	45·1
St. Mary G.	6·8	68·8	8·4	22·4	21·1	6·0	87·8	25·1
Fratton	7·6	56·3	4·2	22·5	15·1	77·6	8·9	45·5
Paulsgrove	5·2	64·8	8·2	13·6	24	25·5	68·1	50·6
Cosham	12·0	50·3	4·4	19·3	20·0	55·2	35·5	54·8
Farlington	22·7	30·1	2·1	20·1	17·0	87·2	4·3	78·3
Meredith	11·2	43·1	3	19·6	19·7	79·7	1·7	61·7
CITY	11·6	46·9	4·7	20·8	18·2	59·1	22·7	50·8

Key: Professional and Managerial = SEGS 1, 2, 3, 4 and 13
Skilled, Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual = SEGS 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 and 15

13 WARD PROFILES (1981 Census)

St. Thomas	14·8	41·7	6·1	22·0	14·5	33·9	30·8	43·4
St. Judes	21·1	35·4	6·2	25·2	11·6	54·4	1·4	50·0
Havelock	9·5	47·8	4·0	24·8	15·4	76·9	2·5	45·8
Highland	10·1	45	3·7	22·7	17·2	69·8	5·7	50·4
Milton	14·3	43·7	3·1	23·0	17·3	77·3	13·8	57·8
Fratton	7·9	56·2	4·4	20·9	16·4	77·2	6·8	47·7
Charles Dickens	6·5	65·9	8·5	21·2	21·6	6·1	87·0	24·9
Nelson	7·7	53·1	4·8	18·6	20·6	60·3	26·2	47·1
Copnor	11·3	46	2·8	20·5	19·2	84·6	1·1	60·3
Hilsea	12·5	41·2	3·7	20·7	19·0	65·8	8·7	55·1
Paulsgrove	4·9	65·8	8·4	13·0	24·3	24·2	69·4	50·5
Cosham	11·8	49·7	4·4	19·5	19·8	54·7	36·0	55·0
Drayton & Farlington	22·6	30·3	2·1	20·3	17·0	87·3	4·5	78·1
CITY	11·6	46·9	4·7	20·8	18·2	59·1	22·7	50·8

Source: City Planning Department

ABC

of Portsmouth

A

Abandoned Vehicles The Council is empowered to remove and destroy any derelict vehicle abandoned on the highway or on land in the open, seven days after a removal notice has been placed on the vehicle. The Council will also arrange for the removal of unwanted vehicles for a small charge. Enquiries to City Engineer's Departmen', Central Depot, Eastern Road, PO3 6EL. Portsmouth 25631.

*** Adult Education** Adult Education Centres provide a wide variety of courses throughout the City. Enquiries to Area Education Office, Civic Offices, PO1 2BJ. Portsmouth 815412.

*** Adult Literacy** If you know anyone who requires help in learning to read, advise them to contact the Adult Literacy Scheme, Balliol Road, PO2 7PP. Portsmouth 693242.

Advice Citizen's Advice Bureaux, The Training Centre Building, Dugald Drummond Street, PO1 2BB, Portsmouth 28621. Portsmouth Community Centre, Malins Road, PO2 7BA, Portsmouth 67266.Portsdown House, London Road, PO6 3EG, Cosham 376742. Community Advice Centre, 37 Church Road, Landport,Portsmouth, PO1 1QA. Portsmouth 811052.

Age Concern A voluntary organisation providing advice, information and other services for the elderly, 1 St. Michael's Road, PO1 2EE. Portsmouth 27110.

Allotments Applications in writing to The Department of Leisure Services, Parks and Technical Services Division, Guildhall, PO1 2AD.

Arts and Cultural Activities The Council regularly produces a Diary of Events organised by local societies. Enquiries to The City Arts Administrator, Guildhall, PO1 2AD. Portsmouth 834184/5.

B

Birth, Deaths and Marriages The Register Office, 2 St. Michael's Road, PO1 2EA. Portsmouth 29041/2.

Building If you are intending to erect a new building or carry out alterations and additions the Building Regulations are likely to apply. Enquiries and applications should be made to the City Engineer's Department, Building Control Section, Civic Offices, PO1 2AS. Portsmouth 834596.

Buses City of Portsmouth Passenger Transport Department, Highland Road, Eastney, PO4 9ME. Portsmouth 822251.

Bus Tokens You are entitled to bus tokens if you live within the Portsmouth City Boundary and are a woman aged 60 or over, or a man aged 65 or over. You may also qualify if you are a disabled person who finds difficulty in walking. All applications to City Treasurer's Department, Bus Token Section, Civic Offices, PO1 2AR. Portsmouth 834445.

C

Catering and Entertainment Services Enquiries to the Department of Leisure Services, Entertainments, Catering and Tourism Section, Guildhall, PO1 2AD. Portsmouth 834146/7.

Cemeteries and Crematorium Cemeteries in the City are under the control of the Registrar of Cemeteries, Milton Cemetery, PO4 8RS. Portsmouth 732559. The Crematorium is located outside the City at Cornaway Lane,Portchester. Fareham 237011.

City Museums and Art Gallery The City has the following Museums, City Museum and Art Gallery, Southsea Castle, Cumberland House Natural History Museum, Eastney Pumping Station, Fort Widley and Charles Dickens Birthplace Museum. Enquiries to City Museums Officer, Museum Road, PO1 2LJ. Portsmouth 811527.

City Records Office City Records Officer, Museum Road, PO1 2LE. Portsmouth 29765.

Cleansing and Refuse Disposal Operated by the City Engineer's Department. Enquiries to Central Depot, Eastern Road, PO3 6EL. Portsmouth 25631.

Colleges Portsmouth Polytechnic, Museum Road, PO1 2QQ. Portsmouth 27681.

Faculty of Educational Studies, Locksway Road, PO4 8JF. Portsmouth 735241.

Highbury College of Technology, Dovercourt Road, PO6 2SA. Cosham 383131.

College of Art, Design and Further Education, Winston Churchill Avenue, PO1 2DJ. Portsmouth 26435.

Community Centres Portsmouth Community Centre, Malins Road, PO2 7BL. Portsmouth 692914

Southsea Community Centre, St. Paul's Square, PO5 4EE Portsmouth 23895

The Grove Club, Marsden Road, Paulsgrove, PO6 4JB

Stamshaw and Tipner Leisure Centre, Wilson Road, PO2 8LE. Portsmouth 693221.

Cosham Community Centre, Wootton Street, PO6 3AP Cosham 384712.

John Pounds Centre, Kent Street, Portsea, PO1 3BS Portsmouth 754287.

Trafalgar Place Community Centre, Fratton, PO1 5JJ. Portsmouth 751441.

Wymering Community Centre, Sevenoaks Road, Wymering, PO6 3JP. Cosham 375361.

Northern Parade Community Centre, Northern Parade, Hilsea, PO2 9SH. Portsmouth 693855.

Rivers Street Hall, Rivers Street, Somerstown, PO5 4PL. Portsmouth 752294.

Stacey Centre (Milton and Copnor Community Association), Walsall Road, Copnor, PO3 6DN. Portsmouth 20830.

Wecock Village Centre, Kite Close, Wecock Farm, Cowplain, PO8 9UJ. Waterlooville 58423.

Complaints If you have any complaints about local government services you should first contact the Department involved, and if any action they take does not remove your grievance, then you should write to the Chief Executive. If the matter is still not resolved, contact your local Councillor who may agree to refer your complaint to the Local Commissioner (Ombudsman).

Conservation Areas There are 19 Conservation Areas in the City. To build, demolish or develop in any way within these areas could be subject to special control. The lopping, topping or felling of trees also requires the specific consent of the City Council. Before undertaking any work enquiries should be made to the City Planning Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AU. Portsmouth 834310.

Enquiries for grant assistance under the Local Authority (Historic Buildings) Act 1962 should be submitted to the Department of Architecture and Civic Design, PO1 2AT. Portsmouth 834718.

Consumer Protection The Consumer Protection Service is responsible for enforcing 26 Acts of Parliament, all designed to regulate trading activities and to protect the consumer and honest trader. The Divisional Unit which serves the Portsmouth area is at: Ashville House, 260/262 Havant Road, Drayton, PO6 1PA. Cosham 388934.

Council Meetings The City Council meets once every six weeks at the Guildhall, and meetings of the Council and its major Committees are open to the public. Enquiries to the Information Centre, Civic Offices, PO1 2AL. Portsmouth 834092/3. Copies of the Council Minutes are also available for inspection.

Councillors Information regarding Councillors and their Ward Surgeries available from the Information Centre, Civic Offices. (See above).

Council of Community Service Co-ordinates voluntary services in the City at 1 St. Michael's Road, PO1 2EE. Portsmouth 27110.

D

Department of Health and Social Security Roebuck House, Portsmouth Road, PO6 2TA. Cosham 370921.

Drainage For drain blockage emergency clearance please contact the City Engineer's Department, Central Depot, Eastern Road, PO3 6EL. Portsmouth 25631.

E

*** Education** Area Education Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2BJ. Portsmouth 815412.

Electoral Registration All enquiries concerning the Electoral Roll and voting procedures should be made to the Electoral Registration Section, The Secretariat, Civic Offices, PO1 2AL Portsmouth 834074.

Entertainments A diary of Attractions is produced at regular intervals for live entertainments in the Guildhall and Rock Garden Pavilion, and Special Events organised by the Entertainments Section, Leisure Services Department, Guildhall, PO1 2AP. Portsmouth 834146.

"What's On" leaflet produced every month, by the Council. To let us know of any activity you would like included, or obtain a copy contact the Tourist Information Centre, Clarence Esplanade, Southsea. PO5 3PE. Portsmouth 26722.

F

Family Planning The main clinic, open five days a week is at the Ella Gordon Unit, East Wing, St. Mary's General Hospital, PO3 6AF. Portsmouth 816515.

There are also five other clinics in the City, open on one day each week.

*** Fire Brigade** Fire Brigade (Headquarters) Copnor Road, PO3 5AE. Portsmouth 64222.

Food Complaints about the fitness of food or the conditions under which it is prepared, handled or sold, should be made to the Environmental Health Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AZ. Portsmouth 834252.

G

General Improvement Areas There are at present 19 GIAs in the City, for the improvement and upgrading of old houses. Enquiries for improvement grants and loans on properties in these areas should be made to the Housing Department Portsmouth 834537, and enquiries about improvements to the environment should be made to the City Planning Department, both at the Civic Offices, PO1 2AU. Portsmouth 834310.

H

Hospitals Queen Alexandra Hospital, PO6 3LY. Cosham 379451.

St. Mary's General Hospital, Milton Road, PO3 6AD. Portsmouth 22331.

St. James' Hospital, Locksway Road, Milton, PO4 8LD. Portsmouth 735211.

Housing Aid The Housing Aid Centre is provided to assist anyone with their housing problems. Situated in the Housing Services Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AX. Portsmouth 822251.

Housing Applications Persons requiring Council accommodation should apply to the Housing Services Department, PO2 2AX. Portsmouth 834765 and 834545.

Housing Conditions Inadequate or insanitary conditions in the private sector should be reported to the Environmental Health Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AZ. Portsmouth 822251.

Matters concerning Council owned accommodation should be reported to the Housing Services Department. Civic Offices, PO1 2AX. Portsmouth 822251.

I

Information Centres Civic Information Centre, Civic Offices, Guildhall Square, PO1 2AL. Portsmouth 834092/3. Mon-Thurs - 8.30 a.m. to 5.15 p.m., Friday - 8.30 a.m. to 4.15 p.m.

Tourist Information Centre, Castle Buildings, Clarence Esplanade, Southsea, PO5 3PE. Portsmouth 26722/3/4. May - Sept - (Open every day) 9.00 a.m. (Sunday 10.00 a.m.) to 1.00 p.m. - 2.00 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. Oct - April - Monday-Friday - 9.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m., 2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m.

Tourist Information Centre, Continental Ferry Port, Mile End, PO2 8QN. Portsmouth 814013/819688. May-Sept.

Improvement Grants and Loans Grants are payable for certain improvements to your property. Loans are also obtainable. Enquire at the Housing Services Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AX. Portsmouth 834537.

Investment in the City The City Council currently accepts loans from investors for 5 years, minimum sum £1,000. Enquiries to the City Treasurer, Civic Offices, PO1 2AR. Portsmouth 834430.

J

Job Centre Lake Road, PO1 4DU. Portsmouth 27311.

L

Legal Advice Solicitors on the legal advice panel will give legal advice either free, or for a small payment depending on means. A list of solicitors on the panel is available at the Citizen's Advice Bureau. (See Advice).

*** Libraries** The Central Library, Guildhall Square, PO1 2DX. Portsmouth 819311/8. There are seven branch libraries throughout the City. There is also a Record Library at the Central Library.

Licensing Enquiries and applications in respect of licences for Betting, Gaming and Lotteries, Coin operated machines other than in public houses, etc. Dogs, Stage Plays, Cinema, Hackney Carriage and Hackney Carriage drivers, Private Hire Vehicles, scrap metal dealers, street collections and house to house collections, Mobile canteens, late night refreshment house licences, licence to kill game, licence to train wild animals, are dealt with by the Secretariat, Civic Offices, PO1 2AL. Portsmouth 834073.

Listed Buildings Certain buildings within the City have been listed as of special architectural or historic interest. Alterations, extensions or any development relating to such buildings requires specific consent from the City Council. Enquiries to the City Planning Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AV. Portsmouth 834310.

Lord Mayor's Office Guildhall, PO1 2AJ. Portsmouth 822251.

Lottery Proceeds from the weekly lottery will develop the Alexandra Park Sports Centre. Two top prizes of £1,000 plus over £2,000 smaller cash prizes. Tickets on sale throughout the City.

M

Marriage Guidance The Training Centre Building, Dugald Drummond Street, PO1 2BB Portsmouth 27026

Mortgage Loans Enquiries to the City Treasurer, Civic Offices, PO1 2AR Portsmouth 834404.

N

Noise Abatement Complaints about excessive noise should be addressed to The Environmental Health Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AZ. Portsmouth 822251.

P

Pest Control The Environmental Health Department undertakes the control of mice, rats, insects and other pests, and infestations should be reported without delay to the Department at the Civic Offices, PO1 2AZ. Portsmouth 822251.

Planning Enquiries and applications for planning permission/ advertisement consent and inspection of the Statutory Planning Register to the Planning Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AR. Portsmouth 822251.

Play Many children's activities are available throughout the year including holiday and after-school schemes, adventure playgrounds and special projects. Details from Community Provisions Office, Guildhall, PO1 2AD. Portsmouth 834155.

Police Portsea Island - All Stations. Portsmouth 22222.

Pollution Pollution of the atmosphere or general accumulations of dumped refuse should be reported to The Environmental Health Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AZ. Portsmouth 822251.

R

Refuse Enquiries regarding the regular collection of refuse or special collections should be made to the Cleansing Section, City Engineer's Department, Central Depot, Eastern Road, PO3 6EL. Portsmouth 25631.

Rent Officer Service 2 Landport Terrace, PO1 2RG. Portsmouth 27254. Rent Officers will, at the request of either landlord or tenant determine and register fair rents for private or Housing Association dwellings.

Rent Rebates and Allowances Both Council and private tenants are eligible for rent rebates and allowances depending on personal circumstances and the amount of rent paid. Enquire at the Housing Services Department. Civic Offices, PO1 2AX. Portsmouth 822251.

S

Shipping and Boating All enquiries concerning the commercial port facilities and moorings and boating areas should be made to the Port Manager's Department, Lombard Street, Old Portsmouth, PO1 2JY, during normal working hours. Portsmouth 834795. Enquiries regarding shipping movements and ContinentalFerries may be made at any time during the week at theContinental Ferry Port, Mile End, PO2 8QN. Portsmouth819156. All enquiries concerning moorings in Langstone Harbour to Harbour Master, Ferry Road, Hayling Island, PO11 0DG. Telephone Hayling Island 3419.

*** Social Services** Area Offices: 581 Northern Parade, Hilsea, PO2 9SH. Portsmouth 691611. 72/74 Kingston Crescent, PO2 8AQ. Portsmouth 65121. 51 Kent Road, Southsea, PO5 3EL. Portsmouth 28314.

Contact the office nearest your home address in the first instance.

Sports and Recreational Facilities Available at several centres throughout the City. Enquiries regarding specific sporting activities to the Recreation Section, Department of Leisure Services, Guildhall, PO1 2AD. Portsmouth 834165.

Street Lighting Contact the City Engineer's Department, Civic Offices, PO1 2AS. Portsmouth 834624.

T

Tree Preservation Orders These orders are operative in many parts of the City. Before undertaking any work on trees in a Tree Preservation Area enquiries should be made to the City Planning Department. Civic Offices, PO1 2AU. Portsmouth 822251.

V

Vandalism Vandalism causes thousands of pounds worth of damage in the City every year, and ratepayers inevitably have to foot the bill for damage to public property. Please report any acts of wanton damage to the Police immediately. Portsmouth 22222.

W

Water Water supply and sewerage in Hampshire is the responsibility of the Southern Water Authority and a charge is made to all households for the services provided. Tenants of Council houses have this charge included in their rents. Any enquiries should be made to The Portsmouth Water Company, Brockhampton Springs, PO Box No. 8 West Street, Havant, Hants, PO9 1LG. Havant 486333. Southern Water Authority, PO Box 41, Worthing, BN11 1XW.

Y

*** Youth Activities** Youth Clubs and centres provide a wide variety of outlets for young people throughout the City. Details from Area Education Office, Civic Offices, PO1 2BJ. Portsmouth 815412, or the Community Provision Office, Guildhall, PO1 2AR. Portsmouth 834155.

Youth Employment 149 Kingston Road, Portsmouth 20357 and at Portsmouth Road, PO6 2SG Cosham 374061.

Petitions in Portsmouth, 1976–77.

	No. of signatures	Demand	Tactics	Target (departments and committees)	Response/outcome - = symbolic outcom + = tangible succes
1 St Mary's GP Unit	1,400	save	letters to *News*	Regional Health Auth.	-
2 Northern Road zebra crossing	400	provide		City Engineers	-
3 Gurney Road nursery	2,000	save	march, MP	County Social Services	+
4 London Road pavement	145	renew	deputation	County Transportation City Engineers	+
5 Pitcroft Road car park	60	control use by lorries		City Engineers	
6 Fratton Road bus stop		relocate elsewhere	letters to *News*	City Transportation	+
7 Nickleby House car park	60	residents only	deputation, demo MP	City Housing	-
8 Alver Road toilets		do not locate here	deputation, letters	City Environmental Health	+
9 Mablethorpe Road bus service	610	extend service	deputation	City Transportation	-
10 Wimbledon Park squash courts	200	do not locate here	deputation, letters to *News*	City Planning and Leisure Service	+
11 Northern Parade HGV prohibition	1,465	ban	letters to *News*	County Transportation City Engineers	+
12 Chelsea Road hostel		do not locate here	deputation	City Planning	+
13 Watersedge Park community centre	30	provide	letters to *News*	City Leisure Services	+
14 Oddfellows Hall licence		do not give licence		City Planning Services	
15 Osborne Road taxi rank		do not re-locate here		City Engineers	+
16 Arundal St Post Office		save	demonstration	Post Office	-
17 Agincourt Road pavements	100	complete quickly	deputation	City Engineers	+
18 Bailey Road traffic		control	deputation	City Engineers/Gas Board	
19 Frogmore Road litter	78	control		County Police	
20 Fawcett Road sex cinema	349	do not locate here	deputation	City Planning Services	+
21 Stanley Street restaurant	33 + 45	do not locate here	deputation MP Ombudsman	City Planning Services	-
22 Hartley Road garage	19	control	letter to *News*	City Planning Services	-
23 Stansted Road hostel	50	do not locate here	deputation	City Planning Services	-
24 Baileys Road traffic management	400	not wanted in present form		City Engineers	-
25 Merton Road wall	50	retain	letters to *News* deputation	City Planning Services	+
26 Hampshire Terrace traffic		control speed		County Transportation	-
27 Privett House rats		control	letters to *News*, MP	City Environmental Health	+
28 East-west Road proposal	12,000	do not construct on present route	deputation, public meetings, threats, letters, MP, electoral window-bills	City Engineers and County Transportation	+
29 Portsdown Park dampness		cure	letters to *News*, MP, legal action	City Housing	+
30 Drayton housing development	882	do not locate	letters to *News*	City Planning Services	+
31 Portchester hovercraft yard	75 + 42	do not extend		City Planning Services	-
32 All Saints Road safety	40	provide barriers	letter to *News*	City Housing	
33 Goldsmith Ave yellow lines		not here	MP	City Engineers	+
34 Tethered horses	1,500	control	MPs	City Council	
35 Rowland Road bus terminus	73	remove		City Transportation	-
36 Castle Road cottage	80	do not give permission		City Planning Services	-
37 Old Portsmouth playground		provide	letter to *News*	City Leisure Services	-
38 Highland Street wall		remove		City Engineers	+
39 Burfields Road playground	35	remove	deputation	City Leisure Services	
40 Cumberland Road demolition	189	stop	demo, deputation MP, legal action	City Council	-
41 Stubbington Avenue traffic	200	control		City Transportation	-
42 Cosham supermarket	300	do not locate here		City Planning	-
43 Newcomen Road car park	200	not wanted		City Engineers	+
44 Hawthorne Crescent rail noise	100	control	MP	British Rail	

[redacted] OF THE LEADER OF THE COUNCIL

HENDERSON ROAD CARAVAN SITE

Members, we have just heard a deputation on behalf of residents of Henderson Road Caravan site in relation to the recommendation proposed under Minute 120 before the Council this afternoon.

The two ladies made their points effectively, briefly and simply, and we have listened. I think that most members will agree we should have listened sooner. We are aware that there should be an end of sympathy. It was because of the known strong feelings of residents that a public meeting was called recently. We did not have to call it but it was done to give an opportunity to the people of the Henderson Road Caravan site to speak their minds. This they did.

The Chairman of the Leisure Service Committee, Councillor Charles Mos, and the Chairman of the Housing Services Committee, Councillor Cyril Wakefield have been giving much attention to the future since the meeting with residents. The Deputy Leader and I went down to the site yesterday to talk informally with some of the residents. We know that many have come here this afternoon, and in order to avoid unnecessary anxiety and a lengthy wait, having regard to the Agenda this afternoon with many highly contentious items, such as the export of live animals, parking on Southsea Common and so on, I thought it right to make a Leader's statement now.

Councillor Mos proposes, with the consent of the Council, to withdraw Minute 120 which states in essence that full considerations of the East Portsmouth Policy Plan must take place before decisions are made on the Henderson Road Caravan Site. The East Portsmouth Policy Plan is essential for the proper development and land use of the whole of the eastern seaboard of the City, but it must not be so all-embracing that residents, plagued with uncertainty, find these uncertainies prolonged.

Certainly the Mary Rose development, vital as it is to the City, must not be used to delay essential improvements at Henderson Road.

Therefore in my statement to you now I make no specific recommendations. The Chairman of the Housing Services Committee has firmly undertaken to put forward recommendations to the next meeting on 20 February, 8 days away, that

1. The Henderson Road Caravan site be retained as a permanent site for mobile homes .

2. That water supply, waste and sewerage drainage be provided in the financial year 1980/81 to the existing occupied 77 pitches, hopefully and expectantly this summer

3. That the Henderson Road Caravan site and Cliffdale Caravan sites be transferred to the control of the Housing Department.

In essence therefore I say to the residents, you have won your battle.

The recommendation for Housing Department control will also mean that the existing processes of natural reduction in a number of pitches will be allowed to continue until a maximum level of 58 is achieved. It is of course clearly understood that no existing residents will be pressed to leave. The reduction to 58 pitches will take time - so be it.

There are, of course, some residents who for various reasons want to move to more traditional type accommodation and assistance will be given to these residents.

When the full reduction has been achieved, or as soon as is reasonably practicable, the site will be realigned in accordance with the City Council's adopted standards. Members will recall that these were recently unanimously adopted.

The present layout is not ideal, and residents will, I believe, find in future that the rearrangement with new hard standings provided by the City will be an improvement. This will be carried out with sensitivity and full consultation with residents. It is expected that mortgage facilities will also be made available to enable existing residents to buy mobile homes to the required standard, consistent with the revised layout, but here again, pressure will not be applied, and the change from caravans to mobile homes will be a long term process.

Finally consideration will be given as to whether or not residents will be responsible for the cost of the connections from the new main supply of water, waste and sewerage drainage to be laid on the site to the individual pitches. The City Council will be reasonable and sensible in its approach in this matter.

Obviously the Ward Councillors will be invited to attend the Housing Committee and of course its proceedings are open to the public, including the residents of the Henderson Road Caravan site.

The decisions of the Housing Services Committee will come to our next full City Council Meeting, but I am sure preliminary paperwork will start now, indeed it must be so.

Source: City Council Minutes and Appendices

Department of Geography

Buckingham Building
Lion Terrace
Portsmouth PO1 3HE
Telephone
Portsmouth (0705) 27681
Extension
Telex 86457

Portsmouth Polytechnic

DEAR HOUSEHOLDER,

I AM ONE OF A SMALL GROUP OF UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS FROM THE GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT, PORTSMOUTH POLYTECHNIC, WHO IS UNDERTAKING A RESEARCH PROJECT ON PORTSMOUTH. I WILL BE PLEASED TO SHOW YOU MY STUDENT UNION CARD AS PROOF OF MY IDENTITY.

WE ARE INTERESTED IN WHAT LOCAL PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CITY THINK ABOUT THE AREAS IN WHICH THEY LIVE AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THIS IS ENTIRELY AN EDUCATIONAL PROJECT AND HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH ANY OFFICIAL AGENCY LIKE THE COUNTY OR CITY COUNCILS. WE ARE KEEPING NO RECORD OF INDIVIDUAL NAMES AND ADDRESSES AND ALL THE INFORMATION GIVEN WILL BE TREATED AS TOTALLY CONFIDENTIAL.

WE WOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD AGREE TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON THE SHEET ATTACHED. IT SHOULD NOT TAKE MORE THAN A FEW MINUTES.

THANK YOU.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS BY PLACING A TICK OR CROSS IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX AND FILLING IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE

A (1) Do you live in: your own house/flat ☐

council accommodation ☐

or privately rented accommodation? ☐

(2) How long have you lived at your present address? ..... years

(3) What is your occupation? .....

(4) Do you have any children living at home? Yes ☐ No ☐

(5) Are you:

21 or under ☐ between 21-40 ☐ 41-60 ☐ 60+? ☐

B (1) Have you seen or used a leaflet called the ABC OF PORTSMOUTH published in 1977 and 1979 by the City Council, which gives information about which department to contact if you have problems, enquiries, etc?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(2) Have you seen or used a booklet called the EVERYDAY ATLAS OF PORTSMOUTH (1979), which gives details of the location of facilities in the city and how to contact them?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(3) Do you regularly read the Portsmouth Evening NEWS?

Yes ☐ No ☐

C WHICH OF THESE THINGS HAVE YOU DONE IN THE LAST FEW YEARS?

(1) Attended a Portsmouth City Council meeting Yes ☐ No ☐

(2) Attended a Public Inquiry Yes ☐ No ☐

(3) Organised or signed a petition Yes ☐ No ☐

(4) Attended a public meeting Yes ☐ No ☐

(5) Contacted your local MP Yes ☐ No ☐

(6) Contacted a local councillor Yes ☐ No ☐

(7) Contacted or complained to a council official Yes ☐ No ☐

(8) Written a letter to the editor of a national or local newspaper

Yes ☐ No ☐

(9) Applied to the City Council for a grant or to have your rates reduced

Yes ☐ No ☐

(10) Contacted a local residents', ratepayers' or tenants' association

Yes ☐ No ☐

(11) Joined together with neighbours in protesting about a public plan or proposal or lack of action by the County or City Council

Yes ☐ No ☐

D IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED NO TO ALL ACTIVITIES UNDER PART C, PLEASE TURN TO PART E.
HOWEVER, IF YOU HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN ANY OF THE ABOVE ACTIVITIES -

(1) What were the grievance(s), issue(s) or problem(s) that concerned you?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(2) What was it about this/these issue(s) which annoyed/upset you enough for you to take action?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(3) When you were considering what (if anything) to do about it (them), did you discuss it with anyone? (Family, neighbours, friends, etc).

_____

_____

(4) If you have contacted someone in authority in recent years, did you speak to them personally, write to them, telephone them, or what?

_____

_____

(5) What sort of response did you get? Was anything actually done as a result of any actions you have taken?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

E (1) Do you normally vote in general elections? Yes ☐ No ☐

(2) Do you normally vote in local elections? Yes ☐ No ☐

(3) Have you helped a candidate in an election campaign in recent years?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(4) If you have voted in recent elections, have you always voted for candidates of the SAME party or not?

same party ☐

candidates of different parties ☐

(5) Are you, or have you ever been, a member of a national political party?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(6) Are you, or have you ever been, a member of a national group which tries to influence government policy (employers' association, trade union, group promoting a 'cause', etc)?

Yes ☐ No ☐

F (1) What, in your opinion, are the WORST aspects of living where you do in Portsmouth, in terms of the local environment, amenities, quality of public services and accessibility to facilities?

_____

_____

_____

_____

C-3

F (2) Have you considered or tried to move from your present flat/house in recent years because of any of these local problems?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Please explain _____

_____

_____

(3) Are there any particular local problems which, although you feel strongly about them, you have NOT tried to get anything done about?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If YES, please explain why _____

_____

_____

(4) How interested and active do you think people are around where you live, in relation to what the council is doing and how the city is run?

Very ☐ Quite ☐ Not very ☐ Not at all ☐

Thank you very much. If there are any additional comments you would like to make about the area you live in, or your attitude to and involvement in local public affairs, please use the space below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

[illegible] improved with Corporation grant or loan assistance?	No.
2. If not: (a) Do you think you house needs improvement? (b) If you are an owner, are you willing to consider improving it with the help of the grants and loans that are available? A Guide to Renovation Grants is enclosed, but more information will be given if the Council decide to make the area a general improvement area. (c) If you are a tenant, would you like to have your house improved and provided with any amenities at present lacking? Remember that a fair rent could be registered which might be higher than your present rent.	(a) No (b) upstairs toilet etc already installed (c)
3. The following are some of the improvements that could be made in a general improvement area. Please indicate with a tick those you would like to see carried out. Of course, it does not necessarily follow that any of these will be done, but your answers will help the Council in deciding how to plan the future of the area:- (a) an off-street car park (b) lock-up garages (c) children's playspace (d) removal of industries such as builder's yards, workshops and warehouses (e) blocking up ends of some streets to prevent through traffic. (f) planting trees and shrubs in streets, at corners etc. (g) taking part of the back gardens to provide rear accesses to enable individual garages or hardstandings to be built. (h) provision of outdoor seats in suitable locations (i) better street lighting (j) more attractive paving materials on the roads and paths.	(a) No) Hardstanding (b) No) in front of house (c) No (d) No. (e) No (f) Yes. (g) No (h) No (i) No (j) Already done

[illegible] there any facilities which you consider to be lacking in the locality.	[illegible] small & congested to lend itself to many [illegible] except to the small [illegible] without indoor toilet etc.
5. In which area or road do you normally shop for:- (a) Food and weekly requirements (b) Clothing, footwear, furniture, hardward etc.,	(a) Fratton Rd. (b) anywhere
6. What do you like about the locality in which you live?	Nothing
7. Is there anything you particularly dislike about the locality in which you live?	Yes. Dirty DOGS FOULING Dirty sweet papers strewn around & it is "POOR"
8. Have you any ideas which may be used to improve the area?	No. It is too congested & can only suggest that a sight of a tree or grass would brighten the place up — if there is any space for such luxuries!!

F407(R10/75)

City of Portsmouth

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENTS

GENERAL IMPROVEMENT AREA NO 15

Following a Public Meeting in November 1979 Portsmouth City Council declared the street in which you live as part of an area for General Improvement.

To help the Council know what improvement you would like to see, your Residents' Committee would like you to complete the following questionnaire.

The City Council has assured the Residents' Committee that where an improvement is practicable, they will see that it is implemented as soon as it is feasible.

Please complete the questionnaire which will be collected by your Street Representative, and the information collected will remain confidential.

Your Street Representative is

Name.....

Address.....

.....

who will collect the form on.....

between the hours of.....

Second Questionnaire to G.I.A. 15 householders

STREET..... HOUSE.....

CARS

Please tick appropriate box

		Yes	No	No opinion
1	Do you own, or have use of a car	☐	☐	
IF YES 1(a)	Do you park your car in the road?	☐	☐	
1(b)	Do you ever have difficulty parking in your road	☐	☐	☐
1(c)	Would you use an off-street parking facility, if provided, near your home	☐	☐	☐
1(d)	Would you consider renting a lock up garage if one was available?	☐	☐	☐
1(e)	Would you like to have a Residents parking scheme?	☐	☐	☐

PAVEMENTS AND ROAD SURFACING

		Yes	No	No opinion
2	Does your road need re-surfacing?	☐	☐	☐
3	Does your road need new pavements?	☐	☐	☐

TRAFFIC

		Yes	No	No opinion
4	Is through traffic a problem in your road?	☐	☐	☐
5	Do heavy vehicles present a problem in your road?	☐	☐	☐
6	Is there a need to restrict parking in your road?	☐	☐	☐

Note

Although every consideration will be taken of residents' opinion regarding traffic problems, any action taken will have to be part of an overall Traffic Management Scheme for the Area.

PLANTING

Please tick appropriate box

		Yes	No	No opinion
7	Would you like trees in your Street?	☐	☐	☐
8	Would you like a tree outside your House? (see Note below)	☐	☐	☐
9	Would you like low bushes planted, in stone or brick containers, outside your house?	☐	☐	☐

Note

The planting of trees will be subject to the location of gas and water mains making this possible. To plant trees or bushes may require a pavement bubble. A limited variety of trees will be available for residents to select their preference.

BUSINESS USES

		Yes	No	No opinion
10	Are there any Commercial, Industrial or Business Premises operating within your locality that are creating a nuisance?	☐	☐	☐
IF YES 10(a)	It would be helpful if you could state their names			

.....

.....

.....

LOCAL STREET GROUPS

		Yes	No	No opinion
11	Are you interested in the formation of local street groups?	☐	☐	☐

Please tick appropriate box

COMMUNITY FACILITIES

12 Is there a need for any of the following facilities in the area?

	Yes	No	No opinion
(a) Green Open Space	☐	☐	☐
(b) Children's Play Space	☐	☐	☐
(c) Meeting Hall	☐	☐	☐
(d) Sports Facilities	☐	☐	☐
(e) Telephone Box	☐	☐	☐
(f) Seats	☐	☐	☐

(g) Any Other (please state)

.. ..

.....

.....

.....

OTHER MATTERS

13 Are there any other matters you feel should be considered? Please state.

.....

.....

.....

.....

The Secretariat

Civic Offices, Guildhall Square,
Portsmouth, PO1 2AL.

Telephone (0705) – Direct Line 83 4662
– Switchboard 22251 Ext. 4662

R B Tweed LLB City Secretary and Solicitor

My Ref MS/CW/38/51/1 Your Ref

Please ask for Miss Sinclair 10 September 1980

Dear Resident

GENERAL IMPROVEMENT AREA NUMBER 15 - ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT PLAN

I am writing to you following a meeting of the GIA Number 15 Residents' Committee held on 1 September 1980 at which the City Planning Officer displayed a draft of the Environmental Improvement Plan for the area. He indicated that comments or suggestions from residents on the plan would be welcome and for this purpose maps showing the draft proposals for individual streets have now been prepared.

Your street representative is _____ and if you are interested to see the plan for your street, it will be available for your inspection at his/her address which is _____ on the following days between the hours indicated:-

Date	Time
_____	Between _____ and _____
_____	Between _____ and _____
_____	Between _____ and _____
_____	Between _____ and _____
_____	Between _____ and _____

If none of these times are convenient for you, you may wish to contact Mr M Mansell or Mr R Colley in the City Planning Department on telephone numbers 834309 and 834310 respectively, before 30 September.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]

City Secretary and Solicitor

To all Residents in
General Improvement Area No 15

Letter to G.I.A. 15 householders

GENERAL IMPROVEMENT AREA NO 15 - STANSTED ROAD RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION

CONSTITUTION

1 The name of the Association will be the General Improvement Area No 15 - Stansted Road - Residents Association

2 The objects of the Association shall be to promote the benefit of all residents in General Improvement Area No 15 declared by the Portsmouth City Council on 9 October 1979 by associating with the City Council and other appropriate organisations, by encouraging and co-ordinating participation by residents themselves in a common effort to improve the appearance of the area and the amenities within it.

3 Membership shall be open to all persons aged 18 and over living in the area.

4 The Portsmouth City Councillors for Havelock Ward and St Thomas's Ward shall be associate members (unless resident in General Improvement Area No 15) but shall not have the right to vote at members' meetings.

5 The Management of the Association shall be entrusted to a Committee consisting of a Chairman, a Secretary and other members of the Association elected annually at the Annual General Meeting except that the first Committee shall be elected at a residents committee meeting held on 15 January, 1980.

6 Any person aged 18 or over and resident in the area may, by a resolution carried by at least two thirds of the Committee Members present and entitled to vote, be co-opted to serve on the Committee but that person shall not have the right to vote at members' meetings.

7 The Committee shall meet at least three times each year, and at all such meetings of the Committee, five shall form a quorum.

8 The Committee shall have power at any time to fill any casual vacancy among the Committee. Any member of the Committee elected shall hold office only until the next following general meeting but shall then be eligible for re-election.

9 The Committee shall have power to appoint a Sub-Committee or Sub-Committees for part or whole of the area if the need arises.

10 Each Sub-Committee shall appoint a Chairman, Secretary and such other Officers as the Sub-Committee may from time to time determine.

11 No Sub-Committee shall have delegated powers to act on any matter unless otherwise determined by a meeting of the full Committee.

12 Each Sub-Committee appointed shall report to the following meeting of the full Committee on the business and other matters transacted at the last Sub-Committee meeting.

13 An Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of January each year. The Chairman of the Committee shall be the Chairman of the Annual General Meeting unless association members otherwise determine. At the Annual General Meeting, the following business shall be conducted:-

(a) The election of the Committee and appointment of a Chairman, Secretary and such otherofficers as the meeting may from time to time determine;

(b) To receive the report of the Committee and to take such other action falling within the objects of the Association as shall have been communicated to the Secretary and included in the Notice of the Meeting sent by him to the Members.

14 An extraordinary meeting may be convened at any time and shall be convened within 21 days of a requisition of not less than ten members of the Association. The Requisition must state the purpose for which the meeting is required.

15 The Secretary shall at least fourteen days before the Annual General Meeting send to every member a notice of the meeting stating the time when and the place where it will be held and the business to be conducted.

16 Decisions on any questions before a meeting of the Association or its Committee shall be taken on a majority vote by a show of hands.

17 At all meetings of the Association, each member shall have one vote.

18 No alteration or addition to the constitution shall be made except by a resolution carried by at least two thirds of the members present and entitled to vote, and shall not be made unless notice has been given to the Secretary at least seven days before the meeting.

19 In the event of a member being unable to attend a meeting, he/she may appoint another person to represent him/her, preferably on a husband/wife - wife/husband basis or shall submit an apology for absence to the Secretary in advance of the meeting.

WRITTEN COMMENTS ON THE J.C.B. BY OFFICERS OF TWO TENANT ASSOCIATIONS

1. 'Leigh Park is the largest housing estate in Europe. It is under the dual jurisdiction of Portsmouth and Havant, and has a number of serious problems, including empty and under-occupied properties (single people living in 3 bedroom houses) and maintenance. Its environmental problems - being on the perimeter of the city - are minute compared to those elsewhere, but Leigh Park gardens are in need of attention.

   I submitted many items onto the agenda during the three years I sat on the Joint Committee; items that were of vital importance to the people of Leigh Park. Most were housing problems because only housing is under the Portsmouth City Council. I also go the local area housing office especially with individual cases and get things done with the area housing officer. The chairman of the Joint Committee doesn't like individual cases being brought up - he wants ones with a broader spectrum. But you need to bring up individual cases as examples, for instance, a house that has not been painted for 27 years.

   Generally I got a negative response - Mr. Wakefield always comes back to the question of finance and the item is suffocated. It does not really solve the problems you take to it; they are always referred to some sub-committee. It does not really fulfil expectations because there are not often positive responses to items put forward. The Commitee does not really have a strong role, but it is satisfying in some ways. You hear other peoples views and hear about other areas, and liaison between groups is useful. You learn a tremendous amount, although the time factor does not allow you to go into some issues deeper.

   I can only think of a few achievements - concrete things that have come out of it. We got Leigh Park Lake cleaned and improved, some people transferred, and houses maintained. It needs more councillors and more associations to make it a more balanced meeting; it is dominated by Conservative councillors and you have got to be neutral, although you get caught up in the political net at meetings. My prime target and interest is Leigh Park. I am not really interested in other parts of the city. Portsmouth City Council is not really interested in the estate because it is outside their area. I hope these comments are useful, they are based on my own experience.'

2. 'I think one would have to make the point that the J.C.B. has, in general, improved considerably since its earlier days, both in constitution and in achievement. My own experience - particularly in 1979-80 - is that the Body serves admirably as a forum for Tenants' Association officers from all parts of the City and enables them to see the many factors they have in common although their individual terms of reference may vary considerably.

   The Authority appears to make every effort to seek Association views for inclusion in the agendas although in this particular group we try to notify agenda items well in advance of committee dates.

   I think our members here would agree with me that this Association has achieved a great deal since its formation some five years ago and my personal view is that some part of that achievement is directly attributable to the accessed afforded by the J.C.B. Although our normal procedure is to contact the housing department direct, we have on occasions, taken issues to the Body for open discussion and in order to obtain the voting support of other Associations, where applicable.

   The Body has obviously a valuable role in the dissemination of information from the Authority and a recent case in point is the Tenants' Charter document. Much of this information was channelled through J.C.B. to the individual association officers and follow-up meetings were arranged upon individual requests.

   If there is a criticism, perhaps it is that elected members of the council have an unfortunate tendency to pass controversial issues to the council's officers rather than deal with them themselves! One is aware that matters of policy are rightly the elected members' responsibility and one would like to see more councillors accept this premise, even when the issues concerned may be of political embarrassment to them.'

Summary of examination by Working Party of the factors involved in the problem of education for 16 - 19 pupils in Portsmouth

This paper itself is an attempt to summarise in a simple form the findings of the Working Party set up by the Area Advisory Committee to examine all the factors involved in the future education of pupils aged 16 - 19 in Portsmouth.

GENERAL COMMENTS

1. The Working Party were most concerned that in making decisions people should give first thought to the best interests of Portsmouth pupils.

2. No matter what solution is finally agreed there will have to be very close liaison between all institutions providing education for post 16 students.

3. The Working Party recognise that considerable fears have been expressed about the effect on a community of turning a school into a Sixth Form College. They would stress that they see no fear of diminution of the use of the buildings by the public and for further education classes.

4. It is relevant that should a maintained school be taken out of use for pupils aged 12 - 16 to form either a sixth form or a tertiary college, there would be room in other co-educational schools in the city to provide places for 12 - 16 pupils from the closed school. (Paper N in conjunction with Paper B).

5. There has been some suggestion that a solution to the city's problems caused by falling rolls in Secondary Schools would be to close 2 Comprehensive Schools and leave the remaining schools to continue to provide for 12 - 18 pupils. The Working Party point out this would not solve the sixth form problem. It is most unlikely that the numbers in the sixth forms would remain sufficiently viable to offer a reasonable range of subjects. It is likely that students of this age would increasingly seek places in sixth form and further education colleges outside the city.

The advantages and disadvantages of each of four solutions to the problem are set out ...below. Some of the papers produced by the Working Party are attached to support the statements made.

...Also attached is a paper analysing the estimated effect on each school of each one of the four solutions (Paper P).

SOLUTION 1

Make no change: all 9 secondary schools to continue to try to build up sixth forms

ADVANTAGES

1. No further action would be required at this stage.

2. Certain schools would continue to offer reasonable sixth forms during the 1980s.

Mayfield
Priory - probably
City Boys' } possibly
Springfield }

DISADVANTAGES

1. It seems inevitable that some schools would fail to keep their sixth forms. As numbers in the main schools drop they will be less able to 'subsidise' their sixth forms with staff time from the main school. This is likely to be the case at:

King Richard }
City Girls' } In order of possible effect on the schools
Great Salterns }

2. As numbers contract in the sixth forms, there would be fewer courses offered and students would be likely to continue to leave the city, probably in growing numbers.

3. As the Portsmouth staffing component disappears there would be growing difficulty in supplementing reasonable sixth form provision in the other secondary schools.

City Boys'/Springfield }
Priory } In order of possible effect on the schools
Mayfield }

4. The opportunities for post 16 pupils in schools managing to retain their sixth forms would not increase. From experience elsewhere in the County it would not be very likely that many pupils from the 12 - 16 schools would join the sixth forms in the 12 - 18 schools. The present comparatively limited choice is likely to become more marked. Schools are already finding it difficult to give the optimum amount of teaching time to their sixth form pupils.

5. By 1988 the total numbers in secondary schools will have reduced by one third. We shall be obliged for the sake of educational opportunities to be offered to the pupils to close at least one secondary school otherwise the schools will be too small to offer comprehensive education.

6. The morale of staff within schools with the most rapidly declining numbers would deteriorate.

7. Teachers in the city have expressed their preference to maintain the present situation, but in general have stated that in view of the serious reduction in numbers of pupils they realise that this is not a possible solution. They realise that in a fairly short time the city would have reached Solution 2 below.

SOLUTION 2

Retain sixth forms in some secondary schools:
Designate some schools 12 - 16 : some 12 - 18

ADVANTAGES

1. Certain schools will not be affected by the necessity to change staff and pupils will be allowed to continue as they are.

Mayfield
Priory
City Boys' } query
Springfield }

DISADVANTAGES

1. Post 16 pupils in the schools without sixth forms will be handicapped. They will be offered sixth forms in 12 - 18 schools or F.E. College or sixth form college outside the city. From Gosport experience they are unlikely to transfer to 12 - 18 schools. The number leaving for sixth forms outside the city would probably grow.

DISADVANTAGES (CONTINUED)

2. There is a general feeling that this solution would result in first and second class schools and that parents would wish to choose 12 - 18 schools at 12+ thus emphasising the differences between the schools.

3. There would be a need in the future to close one or two secondary schools as numbers in the main schools will decline by one third. Closure would probably be required by 1987, but would not be possible much before that time. This would not solve the sixth form problem.

4. The Combined Teachers' Association have expressed themselves against this solution.

SOLUTION 3

Create a sixth form college in an existing school and designate the remaining schools 12 - 16

ADVANTAGES

1. A sixth form college would be a strong institution which experienced elsewhere shows would attract post 16 pupils and offer a wide variety of courses of all kinds, including a wider choice of 'A' levels than is possible in any of our schools at the moment (30 or more subjects compared with 17 in our largest sixth forms) and a wide number of less academic courses for which even the largest schools have some difficulty in providing at present.

2. The closure of one school for 12 - 16 pupils would increase the numbers in the remaining schools. Depending on the size of the school which was closed it might well not be necessary to contemplate closure of a second school in the foreseeable future. Although the remaining schools would be smaller, they would probably be viable in educational terms.

3. This is the solution that the main body of teachers would support. The majority would prefer no change but recognise that falling numbers will force some kind of change.

4. The overwhelming number of Governors of existing schools and colleges prefer this solution.

DISADVANTAGES

1. One school would have to lose its 12 - 16 provision and the parents of the pupils who had expected to go to that school are likely to be deeply concerned.

2. Pupils who would be unable to go to the school, which was closed for the 12 - 16 age group, might be required to travel long distances while they were in the main school.

3. There would have to be more transfers of teaching staff round the city than would result from redeployment under solutions 1 and 2.

4. Fears have been expressed that main schools would suffer if sixth forms were removed, mainly because of the transfer of staff, who have taught in main school and sixth forms, to the sixth form colleges (but see attached comments on result of H.M.I. survey - 'EDUCATION' - 15.1.82).

5. Some teachers have expressed the view that their opportunities to teach in main school and sixth form would disappear and this they would regret.

F-2

SOLUTION 4

Tertiary College in conjunction with the College of Art, Design and Further Education using an existing Secondary School : re-designate schools 12 - 16 and use one as a base for the tertiary college

ADVANTAGES

1. A strong institution which would attract post 16 pupils and offer a wide variety of courses of all kinds, including a wider choice of 'A' levels than is possible in any of our schools at the moment (over 30 compared with 17 in our largest schools at the moment) and a wide number of less academic courses for which the schools have such difficulty in providing at present.

2. The closure of one school for 12 - 16 pupils would increase the numbers in the remaining schools. Depending on the size of the school which was closed it might well not be necessary to contemplate closure of a second school in the foreseeable future. Although the remaining schools would be smaller, they would probably be viable in educational terms.

DISADVANTAGES

1. A split site would remove the advantage of a Tertiary College which is to mix pupils studying all kinds of course and allow students to study some academic/some practical subjects.

2. A split site institution is less likely to have the sense of identification with the College which helps student/teacher morale. The sense of organisational unity could be so much diminished as to offer no real advantage over two separate institutions.

3. The Governors and teachers of existing schools are not in favour of this solution.

4. There would have to be transfers of teaching staff round the city and some possible amalgamation with staff from the College of Art.

5. Fears have been expressed that main schools would suffer if sixth forms were removed, mainly because of the transfer of staff, who have taught in main school and sixth forms, to the sixth form colleges (but see attached comments on result of H.M.I. survey - 'EDUCATION' - 15.1.82).

6. Less need. Duplication of choice.

7. Limit parental choice. No institution based on School Regulations.

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

(PORTSMOUTH AREA EDUCATION OFFICE)

BACKGROUND PAPER

RELATING TO THE REVIEW OF THE PROVISION IN PORTSMOUTH FOR THE 16 - 19 AGE GROUP

This paper is provided as an aid to dimussion of the future needs of the 16 - 19 age group in Portsmouth.

It should first be firmly stated that the comprehensive 12 - 18 schools in Portsmouth have done an excellent job since schools' reorganisation in September 1975. Results of all kinds in the sixth forms has been very creditable indeed, but unfortunately circumstances have prevented that growth of the sixth forms which had been anticipated when reorganisation was planned in the mid nineteen sixties.

In Portsmouth at the moment post 16 education is provided in two ways; in the nine 12 - 18 comprehensive schools, and also in the two colleges of further education (Highbury College of Technology and the College of Art, Design and Further Education). About two thirds of the students, in this age range are provided for in school sixth forms in the city. A growing number of students are going to sixth form colleges outside the city.

The Macfarlane Report, which was published early in 1981, reviewed the provision for this age grup nationally and the Hampshire Education Committee decided that there should be local consultations taking into account the present provision and future needs. No one single solution was viewed as right in all circumstances or for all parts of Hampshire.

Portsmouth comprehensive schools admitted their first comprehensive 12+ intake in September 1976, and from September 1981 the sixth forms are wholly based on the comprehensive intake. Only four of the sixth forms have more than 100 students and only two have regularly had more than 100 students since reorganisation in 1975. Although the intention is to provide for any student who wishes to continue his education in school, the range of one year and two year courses that can be run in a small sixth form is limited. Already many two year courses can only be maintained within the existing resources by teaching the first and second year students together. It is unrealistic to expect that more generous resources will be available in the foreseeable future. At the same time the available resources need to be used most effectively to give the best possible provision.

The effect of falling school rolls resulting from the lower birth rate over the last twelve years or so is just beginning to affect the secondary schools. The 12+ transfer group will fall over a five year period from over 2400 in September 1980 to under 1700 in September 1985. By September 1985 the effect will start to show in the sixth forms and the difficulties of providing a suitable range of courses in each sixth form will become even more acute. Some sixth forms will cease to exist and only three or four schools at most will be able to provide the traditional type of sixth form course.

The alternative lies in providing a separate college for students in this age range, either a sixth form college or a tertiary college using existing buildings,

Notes on these two types of colleges explaining their differences and the features in common are given below. Other areas of Hampshire have substantial experience of sixth form colleges and some experience of tertiary colleges, although this would be the first area to consider a tertiary college in conjunction with existing further education provision.

In Portsmouth, a sixth form college of between 700 and 900 students in the late 1980's would be able to provide the wide range of courses appropriate in these days and would not be severely affected by falling schools rolls. Likewise a tertiary college, perhaps combined with the city's smaller futher education college, would also make more effective provision.

No change is likely before September 1984 but early consultation on any proposals is essential if smooth and effective planning of staffing, buildings and equipment is to be made in good time.

NOTES ON SIXTH FORM COLLEGES AND TERTIARY COLLEGES

SIXTH FORM COLLEGES

For administrative and staffing purposes sixth form colleges are regaded as schools, both by the Department of Education and Science and by the Authority. Typically, a sixth form college not only offers a wide range of subjects to 'A' level for students aiming to attend a university or poytechnic, but also provides opportunities for students to sit or re-sit 'O' levels in preparation either for employment at the end of one year or for a second year of more advanced study. As in traditional sixth forms close attention is paid to the general education of students, all of whom are expected to follow a programme of 'general' or 'common' studies which may or may not lead to an external examination. The welfare of students, both academically and personally, is taken care of by group tutors. A sixth form college has therefore much in common with a large sixth form of a 11/12 - 18 secondary school and establishes close links with the feeding 11/12 - 16 secondary schools.

The existing Hampshire sixth form colleges admit all pupils who it is thought will benefit from a period of further study and for whom suitable courses can be arranged. In recent years several colleges have offered, for example, City and Guilds Foundation Courses to one - year students in addition to the more common subject-based Certificate of Extended Education. Organisational restraints rarely allow a sixth form of an all-through school to provide such opportunities.

TERTIARY COLLEGES

For administrative purposes a tertiary college is regarded as a further education college.

A tertiary college aims to embrace the two functions of a sixth form college and a technical college in one organisation. So in addition to the sixth form college curriculum described above, a tertiary college also offers a wide range of vocational courses validated by such national bodies as TEC (Technician Education Council), BEC (Business Education Council), the Royal Society of Arts, and City and Guilds. For many of these courses, unlike 'A' levels and 'O' levels, entry requirements are laid down by regulation. The examination regulations may also require students to pass in specified subjects to gain a certificate - again, unlike the 'O' and 'A' level examinations system, where certificates are available for performance in individual subjects, not groups of subjects.

It is possible, therefore, for a student, in a tertiary college - if timetabling arrangements allow - to follow a vocational course in, say secretarial skills and also attend classes leading to an 'A' level in English or French or an 'O' level class in Mathematics.

A significant feature of a further education college, and by implication that of a tertiary college, is that it caters for all ages and offers a very wide range of part-time and full-time courses. The ethos and atmosphere of a tertiary college is, therefore, different from that of a sixth form college. Young students mix together with apprentices from industry and mature students attending part-time courses. Tutorial arrangements for the welfare of students are very similar to those of a sixth form college, and close attention is paid to pastorial care.

12 - 16 SCHOOLS

Should there be a decision to set up a sixth form college or a tertiary college in Portsmouth the secondary schools, apart from the 2 voluntary schools which will have to consider their own position separately, will become 12 - 16 schools.

If one of the existing schools is used for college purposes the number of pupils aged 12 - 16 in the remaining schools will be increased and they will all remain quite large and entirely viable units.

There are 12 - 16 schools in some other parts of Hampshire and experience has shown that curriculum standards has not been affected by the fact that there is no sixth form and this is particularly true in the larger 12 - 16 schools.

PORTSMOUTH AREA EDUCATION OFFICE

REPLY SLIP

FUTURE PROVISION IN PORTSMOUTH FOR THE 16 - 19 AGE GROUP

I believe that the following provision would best meet the needs of the 16 - 19 age group in Portsmouth.

(Please delete the choices you would not support)

1 Leave the situation as it is i.e. sixth forms in every secondary school (many will lose their sixth forms gradually over the years).

2 Decide to have some 12 - 16 schools; some 12 - 18 schools.

3 A sixth form college using an existing school building; the remaining County schools to become 12 - 16.

4 A tertiary college using an existing school building amalgamated with the College of Art, Design and Further Education (on separate sites); the remaining County schools to become 12 - 16.

COMMENTS

My interest in the provision for this age group is as a parent/teacher/member of the public.

NAME

ADDRESS

Please return to: (if possible before 20 November 1981)

The Area Education Officer
Portsmouth Area Education Office
Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
PORTSMOUTH PO1 2BJ
Hampshire

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

(PORTSMOUTH AREA EDUCATION OFFICE)

FUTURE PROVISION FOR THE 16 - 19 AGE GROUP

INFORMATION AND CONSULTATION PAPER

This paper is provided to inform all those interested in secondary education in Portsmouth about the present stage in consultation about future educational provision for the 16 - 19 age group. A reply slip is attached for you to express your opinion within the alternatives now under consideration.

During the Autumn 1981, there were public meetings and extensive consultations with the governors and staffs of secondary schools about the type of provision that should be made in future for this age group. The Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee for Education set up a working party to examine each of the alternatives in detail to enable the Advisory Committee to make recommendations to the Education Committee. At their meeting on the 1 February 1982, the Area Advisory Committee agreed unanimously that the following recommendations should be sent to the Hampshire Education Committee.

(i) That the Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee for Education, whilst greatly regretting the need for any change would, in the circumstances, support the establishment of a Sixth Form College;

(ii) That a feasibility study has shown that suitable accommodation could be provided at:

(a) Great Salterns School

(b) King Richard School

(c) Mayfield School;

(iii) That at this time the Committee have not recommended a choice of school and would ask to be consulted further about which of these three schools should be used for the sixth form college if recommendation (i) above is accepted.

At their meeting on 16 March 1982 the Hampshire Schools Sub-Committee agreed in principle that a sixth form college should be established in Portsmouth and asked that further consultations be held regarding the most suitable school for this purpose.

There will be public meetings in each of the three schools mentioned above and further discussions with the governors and teachers of each of these schools and these will be reported to the next meeting of the Area Advisory Committee on 21 June 1982.

It is most important that other parents and members of the public should be able to express their views and it is hoped that this paper and the reply slip will be helpful.

F - 5

The consequences of the proposal so far are that:

(a) from a date to be decided, (not earlier than September 1984) a sixth form college will be established in one of the three schools mentioned above;

(b) all new sixth form students will attend the newly established college, (except those at St Edmund's R C School which will continue to have a sixth form);

(c) pupils already attending the school which becomes a college will continue to attend but there will be no further intake below sixth form level;

(d) the remaining schools will provide for the 12 - 16 age range and their catchment areas will be revised as necessary;

(e) further education will continue to be available for the 16 - 19 age group at Highbury College of Technology and the College of Art, Design and Further Education as at present.

Some guidance about the possible changes in catchment areas is given below:

1 If Great Salterns School becomes the sixth form college, further secondary school pupils from this area would be provided for in Priory School or Mayfield School and at the single sex schools;

2 If King Richard School becomes the sixth form college, further secondary school pupils from this area would be provided for in Mayfield School, Springfield School and at the single sex schools.

3 If Mayfield School becomes the sixth form college, future secondary school pupils from this area would be provided for in Great Salterns School, Priory School and Springfield School and at the single sex schools.

In all three cases places would continue to be available at St Luke's C of E School under the present arrangements where the Governors give priority to applicants with church support.

AEO/PB

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

(PORTSMOUTH AREA EDUCATION OFFICE)

REPLY SLIP

FUTURE PROVISION IN PORTSMOUTH FOR THE 16 - 19 AGE GROUP

Please tick the existing school you feel is most suitable to use as a sixth form college:-

1 Great Salterns School

2 King Richard School

3 Mayfield School

COMMENTS

My interest in the provision for this age group is as a parent/teacher/member of the public.

NAME

ADDRESS

Please return either to: 1) the school your son/daughter attends, or

2) The Area Education Officer
Area Education Office
Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
PORTSMOUTH PO1 2BJ

NOT LATER THAN 16 JUNE 1982 for submission to the Area Advisory Committee on 21 JUNE 1982

AEO/PB

Letter from Chairman of Combined Teachers Group

Alexandra Middle School.
Sundridge Close,
Cosham. PORTSMOUTH PO6 3JL

23rd September 1982

Dear Member,

You will know that the Portsmouth Combined Teachers Group is the officially constituted body through which corporate views of the recognised professional associations of teachers in the City may be expressed. I have the honour to be Chairman of that Group and have been requested - unanimously by the representatives of all the member associations - to write to you in the following terms:

Provision of Education for the 16 - 19 Age Group in Portsmouth

On this most important issue the Combined Teachers' Group wish to compliment the Area Advisory Committee and its Working Party on the thoroughness of their investigations, the range of their discussion and the wisdom of their recommendation to the Hampshire Schools Sub-Committee.

Our own long and purposeful deliberations indicated that no recommendation was likely to receive unanimous approval but we must express our grave concern about the shallow political grounds on which this one appears to have been rejected without regard to the educational evidence.

We believe the Area Advisory Committee deserved better of its Chairman who not only failed to present any public argument to justify his Committee's recommendation but shamefully supported an alternative proposal early in the County Committee debates.

We do not in any way question the right of the City Council to try to influence the County Committee on such a significant matter, but we view with distaste and dismay the churlish arrogance of the leader of the City Council who chose to abuse the teaching profession and to insult the Advisory Committee, Governors, and others involved by ignoring the fact that the recommendation had come from an independent, representative body much better informed than himself.

Yours sincerely,

E.G. FRANCIS

Chairman, Combined Teachers Group on behalf of :-

Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association

National Association of Head Teachers

National Association of Schoolmasters/ Union of Women Teachers

National Union of Teachers

Secondary Heads Association

To all members of the Portsmouth Area Advisory Committee for Education

Specimen of Great Salterns Petition

4207 signatures

We, the undersigned, urge the Secretary of State for Education and Science to reject Hampshire County Councils proposals to close Great Salterns School and convert it to a Sixth Form College. 83

SIGNATURE ADDRESS

[redacted]

INTED AND PUBLISHED BY COUNCILLOR TOM COOK, 84 KINGSTON CRESCENT, PORTSMOUTH.

APPENDIX G (Chapter X)

Characteristics of traffic regulation orders, 1977-78

Characteristics of traffic regulation orders during 1977 and 1978

No.	Type of Order	Roads	Initiated By	Opposition(Support)	Outcome
1	Prohib. of driving	Clarkes,Cuthbert,Samuel (4) & Alver Roads (Fratton)	GIA Residents Cttee.	Objection by GA7,petition (100)Morland Rd. 10 letters	Amended Deferred except Clarkes R
2	P+R of waiting	(1)Hamilton Road (Paulsgrove)	Hamilton Rd. Res. Assoc.	7 letters (2 inc.firms) written objections	As Advert
4	P of motor vehicles	(1)Subway, Mile End Rd.	City Council	Trade Union (in Naval Base) Objections	Amended
7	One way traffic	(2)Oyster & St. Thomas St. (Old Portsmouth)	City Council	1 letter of objection	As advert
8	P of waiting	(4) Yarborough, Pelham, Worsley, St.Edmonds	City Council	29 letters objecting and petition	Amended
10	P of waiting	(1) Pembroke Road		1 letter(Yacht Club) deputation of objection to Tr Cttee.	Amended
13	P of entry	(4) V Roads (Old Portsmouth)	City Council	55 letters of objection Friends of Old Portsmouth	As advert (Signs added)
14	P of waiting	(7)V Roads,Pembroke Park & North End Somerstown	City Council	2 letters of objection	As advert
15	P of waiting. Residents only parking	(5) Portsea	Portsea Community Res. Assoc.	Objections by AA, Whitbreads	As advert (experimen
17	P of waiting. Loading and unloading	(1) London Road	City Council	Petition of 18 businesses objecting	Deleted
20	P of entry	(2) Railway View, Bridport Street		None	As advert
21	One way traffic	(4) in Fratton (see 1)	GIA Res. Cttee.	(see 1)	See 1
23	P of driving	(3)Lennox Road N. Place, Dover Rd.	City Council	None	As advert
24	One-way traffic	(4) V Roads in Stamshaw	GIA Res. Cttee.	1 from manager of launderette objected	As advert
28	P of waiting	(2)Gatcombe, Aylen Roads	City Council	2 letters of objection	as Advert
29	P + R of waiting. One-way traffic.	(2) Guildhall Walk, King Henry I Street	City Council	11 letters from firms in Guildhall Walk	Amended
30	P of Entry	(1) Palmerston Road	City Council	4 letters of objection	As advert to be monitored
31	P of waiting	(1) White Hart Road	City Council	None	As advert
32	P of driving	(3) (see 23)	City Council	None	As advert
33	Temp. P of traffic	(1) Stanhope Road	City Council	None	As advert
34	P of entry	(1) Lennox Road North	City Council	Stanley Street Action Committee objected	Not implemented
35	P of entry	(1) Alhambra Road	City Council	" " " "	Not implemented
36	P + R of waiting	(3) V Roads. Kent, Albert, Orchard?		2 letters (1 trader) Ward Councillors opposed to part.	Amended
37	P + R of waiting One way traffic	(2) Slindon St.,Lower Church Path		None	As advert
38	P of waiting	(3) All Saints Rd. Church St., Wingfield St (Landport)		None	As advert
39	P + R of waiting No left hand turn	(2) Unicorn Rd Alfred Road		None	As advert
40	One way traffic P of entry	(3) Baileys Rd. St. Andrews Rd.,Margate Rd.	Local Res. Petition 262. Labour Party Action Group	33 letters 2 petitions (16+386) objecting	Deleted

16	P of waiting	(1) Nutfield Place		none	As advert.
17	P of waiting	(3) Furze Lane, Locksway Rd. Broom Square.		4 letters (1 trader) Ward Councillor	Amended
18	P + R of waiting	(1) Fratton Road		none	As advert.
19	P of waiting	(1) North Harbour Road	City Council	none	As advert.
20	P of waiting	(1) Villiers Road	Petition by local residents (35)	Petition (69)	Amended
23	P of waiting	(3) Simpson, Stanley & Lower Derby Roads	GIA Residents Committee	1 (flats) objection	As advert.
24	R of waiting	(3) Penny St., High St. Peacock Lane, Old Portsmouth		4 objections (2 firms, 1 residnet, School Governors	Amended
25	P of waiting. Bus Clearway	(2) Goldsmith Ave., Jessie Road	City Council	?	Deleted
26	P of waiting Loading and Unloading	(1) Quatermaine Rd.		none	As advert.
27	P of waiting	(2) Allaway Ave., Bourne Rd.		1 Trade Union, 1 resident City Housing Dept. (3 objections)	Implementa delayed
28	P of waiting	(3) Various Roads (Old Portsmouth)		3 letters (1 resident, Clerk to School, 1 firm of Solicitors	Amended
29	R of waiting	(1) Gunwharf Road		none	As advert.
30	Temp P of waiting	(1) Almondbury Road	City Council	none	As advert.
31	P of waiting	(1) Clarence Esplanade	City Council	none	As advert.
32	P of waiting	(5) Various Roads Drayton		15 objections (12 from Drayton Lane)	Amended
33	Temporary Closure	(1) Stanhope Road	City Council	none	As advert.
34	Temporary Abnormal	(1) Rudmore Roundabout	City Council	none	As advert.
35	Temp. P of waiting	(1) Peacock Lane	City Council	none	As advert.
36	Height restrictions	(1) Ferry Road	City Council	none	As advert.
37	Prohib. of waiting One way traffic	(1) Auckland Rd East	Local residents	Petition in support (53) 16 letters of objection by residents and hotel	Amended but confirmed City Counc
38	P of waiting	(4) Various Roads	local residents	2 firms, 3 residents	As advert.
39	P of waiting. Loading and unloading	(1) Portland Road	City Council	Chamber of Commerce and Industry. 4 businesses.	Delayed Im- plementati
40	P + R of waiting. One way traffic.	(14) King St. area	GIA residents.	Petition 522 (10 directly affected) 3 public houses + Whitbread.	As advert.
41	One way traffic	(2) Baffins Road Milton Road	City Council	Petition (85) before order published deputation.	Amended
43	P of waiting	(2) Kingston Road Buckland Street		4 traders objected	Amended
44	P of Entry	(1) Tower Street		none	As advert.
46	P of waiting	(1) Walton Road		none	As advert.
47	No right turn or U turn	(1) Commercial Road	City Council	none	As advert.
49	P of waiting	(1) Belmont Street		3 letters from residents	Amended
50	P of waiting	(6) Various Roads, Landport	Representation from interested bodies	Petition. 2 public meetings	Amended
51	P of waiting	(1) Buckingham Street		none	As advert.
52	Temp. closure of footbridge	(2) Greetham Road Railway View	City Council/B.R.	none	As zdvert.

41	P of waiting	(15) V roads		8 letters, petition objecting	Amended
42	P of waiting	(17) V Roads (Landport)		Chamber of Commerce, 2 petition for residents objecting	As Advert Implement ation Delayed
43	P of waiting. One way traffic	(2) Kensington Rd. Buckland Road		Chamber of Commerce opposed	Amended
46	Temporary one way traffic	(1) Copnor Road	City Council	None	As Advert
47	Temorary P of traffic	(1) Green Lane	City Council	None	As Advert

1978

1	P + R of waiting	(2) Kingston Crescent Silverlock Close	City Council	1 objection(withdrawn after discussion with City Engineers)	As advert
2	24 hour clearway	(1) Portsdown Hill Rd.	City Council	None	As advert.
3	P of waiting	(5) Various Road		4 objections/local firms	Amended
4	P of waiting	(1) Twyford Avenue	City Council	Objections from 3 traders (2 withdrawn after proposals were revised)	Amended
5	P + R waiting	(5) Various Roads		None	As adverti
6	P of waiting. Loading and unloading	(4) Various Roads Fratton	GIA Residents Committees	None	As Adverti
7	P of waiting	(3) Dorking Grove, Magdala & Merrivale Roads	Residents and Police	11 objections (9 from Magdala	Amended
8	P of waiting, driving	(9) Various Roads, Fratton	3 GIA R Committees	4 residents opposed.Over-whelming support from GIA Committees	As adverti
9	R of waiting	(2) Lucknow St., Somers Road North	City Council	None	As avertis
10	P + R of waiting	(13)Palmerston Rd Area	Local Residents	6 objections. Meetings with Southsea Trades Assoc.	As advert.
11	Clearway	(1) Clarendon Road	City Council	Police had reservations	As advert.
13	P of Commercial vehicle over 3 tons	(19)Various Roads		None	As advert.
14	" " "	(48)Various Roads	Working Party inc. councillors,traders residents and police.	Petition from residents for inclusion in order	as advert.
15	P of waiting	(19)Various Roads	" " "	AA 'concerned' 1 letter in support 11 against. Petition (60)	As advert.

City of Portsmouth
City Engineer's Department

Civic Offices, Guildhall Square
Portsmouth, PO1 2AS

Telephone (0705) - Direct Line 83 4612
- Switchboard 22251 Ext 4612
Telex - 86382 (CE)

N McL Jeffrey BSc CEng MICE FIMunE City Engineer

My Ref PRW/DW/SUS/5 Your Ref

Please ask for Mr Warder

~~18~~ 25 July 1980

Dear Mr Burnett

PARKING SITUATION
SUSSEX ROAD

Thank you for your letter received on 20 June 1980.

I fully appreciate the problems which can be created by the sort of indiscriminate parking which you have described but I am doubtful whether local residents would be prepared to accept the loss of roughly half the available parking space in order to improve the situation.

Furthermore I am unable to recommend the introduction of any new restrictions in Sussex Road at the present time because of the shortage of finance which has meant that only the severest cases of danger and congestion can now be considered and I do not feel that these problems come into that catagory.

The principal costs are for the notices which have to be inserted in the press both at the public consultation stage and at the time when the Order is to be implemented.

I will however send a copy of your letter to the Police to draw their attention to the parking of vehicles on the footway.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]

City Engineer

Mr A Burnett
Department of Geography
Portsmouth Polytechnic
Lion Terrace
PORTSMOUTH

Copy for, The Chief Superintendent
Divisional Police HQ
Kingston Crescent
PORTSMOUTH
Hants

City of Portsmouth

The Secretariat

Civic Offices, Guildhall Square,
Portsmouth, PO1 2AL

Telephone (0705) — Direct Line 83 4052
— Switchboard 822251 Ext 4052

R B Tweed LLB City Secretary and Solicitor

My Ref ME/SD/41/24/111 Your Ref

Please ask for Mr Earle

2 April 1984

Dear Mr Burnett

THE PORTSMOUTH (VARIOUS ROADS)(PROHIBITION OF WAITING)
(NO 17) ORDER 1983

Further to our previous correspondence, your letter regarding this proposed Traffic Order was considered by the Transportation Committee on 27 March 1984.

The Director of Engineering reported that the proposed prohibition of waiting at the western end of Sussex Road had been put forward in an effort to prevent motorists causing an obstruction by parking half on the carriageway and half on the pavement. One objector to the Order had suggested that the whole of one side of Sussex Road should be restricted because of the narrow width of the whole of the road, but many residents did not possess off-street parking facilities and there was a serious shortage of parking space in the area. There were difficulties in trying to balance the need to maintain access and safety with the need for car parking spaces, but it was clear that the indiscriminate parking currently taking place at the western end of Sussex Road could not be allowed to continue.

The Committee decided to proceed with the Order as advertised and a recommendation to that effect, together with the original representations received, will go before the City Council on 17 April. Unless you hear from me again you may assume that this has been approved.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]

City Secretary and Solicitor

Mr A Burnett
8 Sussex Road
Southsea
Hants

Letters from City Engineer and City Secretary regarding parking in Sussex Road

Standard Form of Consultation

Received by County Secretary's Department:

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL
HIGHWAYS AGENCY AGREEMENT - ROAD TRAFFIC REGULATION ACT 1967
SECTIONS 1, 5, 9, 21, 28 & 35

STANDARD FORM OF CONSULTATION

The Portsmouth City Council is proposing to advertise its intention to make the following Traffic Regulation Order. In accordance with the terms of the Agency Agreement between the County Council and the City Council the views of the County Council are requested within 14 days from the date of receipt of this Notice.

1. TITLE:

2. LENGTH OF ROAD AFFECTED (AS SHOWN ON ENCLOSED PLAN):

3. REASON FOR PROPOSAL:

4. HAVE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS BEEN CARRIED OUT UNDER ARTICLE 4 OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES' TRAFFIC REGULATION ORDERS (PROCEDURE) (ENGLAND AND WALES) REGULATIONS?

   Yes/No

   (a) IF YES WHAT WAS THE RESULT?

   (b) IN PARTICULAR WHAT WERE THE VIEWS OF THE POLICE?

5. HAVE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS TAKEN PLACE WITH THE COUNTY SURVEYOR? (Please quote reference of any relevant correspondence)

   Yes/No

6. OTHER RELEVANT INFORMATION:

COUNTY COUNCIL'S COMMENTS

No Objection

See Enclosed 'Stop' Notice

Other Comments

.....
County Secretary

PUBLIC NOTICES

CITY OF PORTSMOUTH

THE PORTSMOUTH (ALLAWAY AVENUE AND BOURNE ROAD) (PROHIBITION OF WAITING) (NO. 27) ORDER 1978

NOTICE is hereby given that the Portsmouth City Council, as agents for the Hampshire County Council, on the 9 November 1978, made an Order under Section 1(1), (2), (3) and 84D(1) of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1967, as amended.

The Order comes into operation on 13 November 1978 and the effect will be as follows:-

A. PROHIBITION OF WAITING AT ANY TIME

1. ALLAWAY AVENUE — north side:

(a) from a point 8m east of its junction with Woofferton Road in a westerly direction for a distance of 68m.

(b) from a point 50m west of its junction with Nailsworth Road in an easterly direction to a point 68m east of its junction with Elkstone Road.

— south side:

(a) from a point 11m east of its junction with Woofferton Road in an easterly direction for a distance of 31m.

(b) from a point 8m east of its junction with Nailsworth Road in an easterly direction for a distance of 31m.

2. BOURNE ROAD

(a) the south side from its junction with Marsden Road in a westerly direction for a distance of 110m.

(b) the north side from a point 72m west of Marsden Road to a point 145m east of Allaway Avenue.

(c) The south side, a 7m extension eastwards of the existing prohibition.

B. PROHIBITION OF WAITING, SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS, 9 am to 6 pm

ALLAWAY AVENUE — north side from a point 8m east of its junction with Woofferton Road in an easterly direction to a point 50m west of its junction with Nailsworth Road.

A copy of the Order and a map may be seen at:-

The City Engineer's Dept —
Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
Portsmouth. Mon/Thurs 9.00 am-1.00 pm 2.15 pm-5.00 pm
Friday — 9.00 am-1.00 pm 2.15 pm-4.00 pm

The Enquiry Office Mon/Thurs — 9.00 am-5.00 pm
The Secretariat Friday — 9.00 am-4.00 pm
Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
Portsmouth

If you wish to question the validity of the Order or of any provision contained in it on the grounds that it is not within the powers conferred by the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1967, as amended by Part IX of the Transport Act 1968, Schedule 19 to the Local Government Act 1972, and Schedule 6 of the Road Traffic Act 1974, or on the grounds that any requirement of that Act or any instrument made under it has not been complied with in relation to the Order, you may within six weeks from 9 November 1978 apply to the High Court for this purpose.

R. B. TWEED
City Secretary and Solicitor

Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
Portsmouth

CITY OF PORTSMOUTH

THE PORTSMOUTH (STAMSHAW AREA VARIOUS ROADS) (ONE-WAY TRAFFIC) (NO 24) ORDER 1977.

NOTICE is hereby given that the Portsmouth City Council, as agents for the Hampshire County Council, on 8 December 1977 made an Order under Section 1(1) (2), (3) of the road Traffic Regulations Act 1967, as amended.

The Order comes into operation on 12 December 1977 and the effect will be as follows:

One Way Traffic	Direction
1. That length of Newcomen Road which extends from its junction with Stamshaw Road to the east side of its junction with Twyford Avenue.	From east to west
2. That length of Winstanley Road which extends from its junction with Stamshaw Road to the east side of its junction with Twyford Avenue.	From west to east
3. That length of Meyrick road which extends from its junction with Stamshaw Road to the east side of its junction with Twyford Avenue.	From east to west
4. That length of Knox Road which extends from its junction with Stamshaw Road to the east side of its junction with Twyford Avenue.	From west to east
5. That length of St Mark's Road which extends from its junction with Stamshaw Road to its junction with Twyford Avenue.	From east to west

A copy of the Order and a map may be seen at:—

The City Engineers Dept — Mon/Thurs — 9.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.
Civic Offices 2.15 p.m. - 5.00 p m.
Guildhall Square Friday — 9.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.
Portsmouth 2.15 p.m. - 4.00 p.m.

The Enquiry Office — Mon/Thurs — 9.00 a.m. - 5.00 p.m.
The Secretariat Friday — 9.00 a.m. - 4.00 p.m.
Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
Portsmouth

If you wish to question the validity of the Order or of any provision contained in it on the grounds that it is not within the powers conferred by the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1967, as amended by Part IX of the Transport Act 1968, Schedule 19 to the Local Government Act 1972 and Schedule 6 of the Road Traffic Act 1974, or on the grounds that any requirement of that Act or any instrument made under it has not been complied with in relation to the Order, you may within 6 weeks from 8 December 1977 apply to the High Court for this purpose.

R. B. TWEED
City Secretary and Solicitor

Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
Portsmouth

7 Nov 78

Yellow lines wanted—in the right place

RESIDENTS' ANGRY DEMO

The trail of the yellow peril petered out in Landport's Street Faith's Road yesterday after workmen stopped painting yellow lines when they learned of a neighbourhood dispute over their siting.

Safety second?

● RESIDENTS IN Dovercourt Road on the Highbury Estate, Cosham, petitioned for restricted parking earlier this year. This was accepted by Hampshire County Council. At a recent Portsmouth Transport Committee meeting it was turned down temporarily, through lack of funds, the cost being £240 for a single yellow line.

The News has since reported that £1,000 plus was spent on gold leaf paint for railings adorning the Guildhall. Is prestige more important than safety? — E. Betts (Mrs.), Highbury Grove, Cosham.

Landport may get new parking zone

Restrictions aimed at bringing some order to the car parking chaos in side streets at Landport are being put forward by Portsmouth City Council.

For residents in the area bounded by Crasswell Street and St John's Road, the restrictions offer some hope of relief from day-long parking by city commuters and shoppers.

The council's proposals affect 17 narrow streets in the area, mainly in the triangle formed by Crasswell Street, St John's Road and part of Lake Road.

The main effect would be to ban one side of each street to cars at any time, and to prevent drivers from parking near road junctions.

Full details of the scheme are available at the City Engineer's Department, Civic Offices, and objections to any of the proposed restrictions should be made before November 4.

Residents in St Faith's Road, one of the areas worst affected, with parking throughout the day the length of the road, welcomed the news of parking restrictions.

Mrs. Beatrice Wisdom told The News: "It is dangerous to try to get across the street now, with cars parked everywhere. Old people dare not even try to get across to the corner shop sometimes."

Nearby office workers are blamed for most of the parking nuisance in the area. One householder commented: "They have their own car parks, but they come and park here in the side roads because it is nearer for them.

"There are supposed to be parking spaces for the tenants of the flats, but they cannot get near them during the day. It is just as bad at week-ends, with shoppers from out of the city taking up all the room."

Mrs. Elizabeth George, of St Faith's Road, also stressed the need to provide some space for local cars. "I will be glad to see a ban on parking, but the council should leave some parking area for local people — at the moment they are lucky to be able to park their cars anywhere near their homes."

YELLOW LINES MOVE IN ON PUBS

Despite objections from three publicans, Portsmouth Transportation Committee agreed today to implement a no-waiting scheme on the eastern side of Eldon Street, Southsea.

Members were told that the order was required because of traffic congestion in the road — frequently used as a dodge run between the city centre and Kings Road.

Publicans at the Eldon Arms, the Diamond, and Scotts had objected to the proposals, saying that the yellow lines should be introduced on the western side of the road.

However, members agreed with residents that the prohibition should be made, as advertised, and the City Engineer (Mr. Neil Jeffrey) said the ban on the eastern side would help pub deliveries.

As a compromise, the committee agreed to review the situation after six months.